

The Sky's The Limit

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THE BLACK PANTHER

Black Community News Service

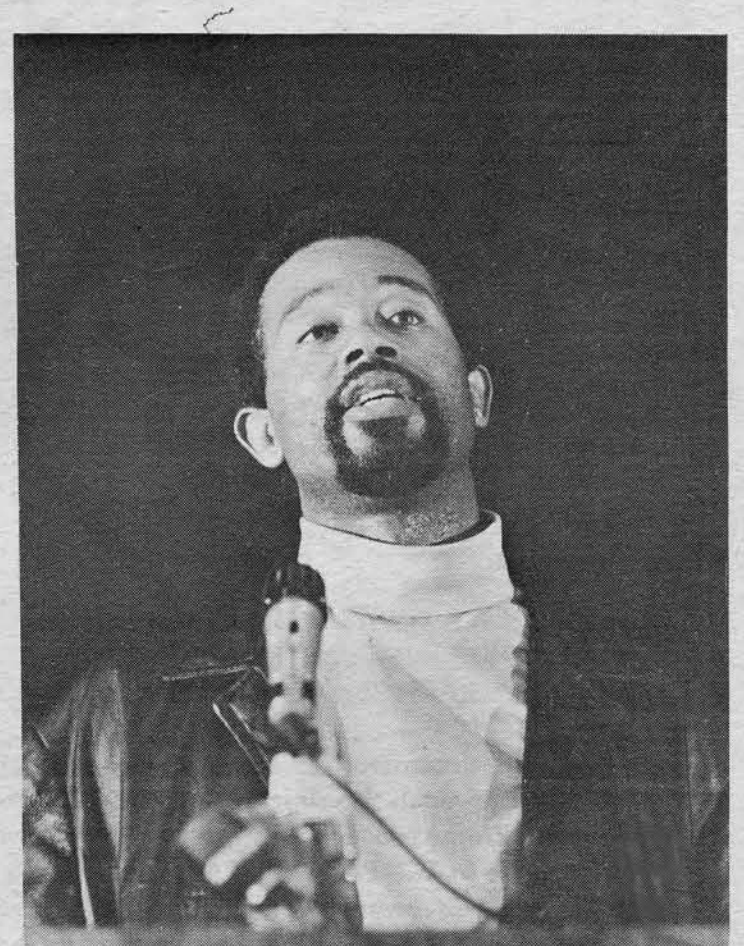
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PIGS WANT WAR

PANTHERS COOL

REAGAN ATTACKS ELDRIDGE





Sacramento, Calif.

The racist governor of the state of California, slobbering pitifully at the mouth, stated a few days ago that Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party's Minister of Information, should not be allowed to express his views or relate any platforms of the Panthers' ten-point program on state property.

This is the same racist-Reagan that called Black people "Mad Dogs" for expressing their dissatisfaction with this decadent American society. It's the same pig that was considered too reactionary for the renowned swine, Ricky-boy Nixon.

Pig Ronald Reagan, no more than a by-product of Knotts Berry farm. A tool of the perverted publisher of the Oakland Tribune. The staunch supporter of the political line first expressed by George Wallace and Mayor Daley.

This greasy pig—the die-hard racist Reagan—oinked out publicly that the Honorable Eldridge Cleaver was "a racist!" The words should burn the hog's tongue!

Racist Ronald Reagan has once again shown that the dogs maneuvering this imperialist power structure keep on pushing their "big lies." They say to Black brothers and sisters that "war is peace;" that their brutalization of Black people is "law and order;" and, that for the Honorable Eldridge Cleaver to be lecturing "the black truth" on the University of California's Berkeley campus "is racism!"

The funky pig talks about Eldridge's jail record, but fails to mention that the brave warrior's jail record is the result of white "in-justice" related to all Black people.

Pig "in-justice" is charging Blacks with murder and attempted murder while their entire hog forces, national guards, and armed oink-oink army kill Black people with impunity!

Ronald "pigpen" Reagan is the perfect symbol of the white-racist power structure that Black people are up against.

The state's number one pig, Ronald Reagan, ain't nothing but a fugitive from the world of make-believe—a world that specializes in "lying."

But we, the members of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, are willing to submit our case to the PEOPLE: "WHO'S THE RACIST—THE HONORABLE ELDRIDGE CLEAVER—or the pig, Ronald Reagan?"

HUEY



COMMUNIQUE NO. 1
September 6, 1968

TO: ALL BLACK PANTHER PARTY BRANCHES
FROM: HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE
RE: FEDERAL PIGS AND U.N. OBSERVOR TROOPS

When local circumstances force any branch of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY to approach the courts or other established agency demanding protection from and aid against the local pigs' attacks; the national policy of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY is never to demand such aid from the Federal Government. If circumstances are such or the political situation requires that a public demand for protection from the pigs be made, then such demands should be made to the United Nations for U.N. Observor troops to be stationed in the Black community to protect the people from the local power structure's occupying army.

By focusing attention upon the situation of Black people as an international issue threatening world peace, in this way we demonstrate our internationalist as well as nationalist position to the people; we simultaneously educate them and put pressure on the U.S. Government in the eyes of the world.

Any public demands for protection or aid against the Focal pigs, however, must first be cleared with the National Headquarters of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

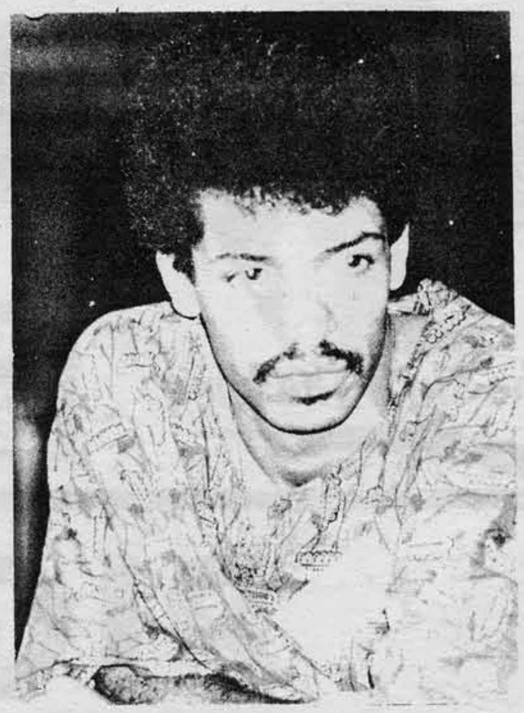
CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS - OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action ncessary for violation of these rules will depend upon decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rules or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY were violated.

Every member of the party must know these verbatum by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE FOLLOWING RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be drunk while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, and general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will point or fire a weapon unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone other than the enemy.
6. No party member can join any other army or force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while drunk or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other members of BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people; not even a needle and a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER PARTY members will give only name and address and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member, including all other material of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.



Brother Cleve Sellers out on bail

REVOLUTION IN GENERAL

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH CLEVELAND SELLERS

Without their knowledge of what is taking place, the Black people are slowly (But accurately) being driven into concentration camps. This is being done throughout the country. The fact that points this out most vividly is the large number of Black men who are now located in federal, state, and local prisons and jails within this system. On the other hand, the people who are unable to deal with it that way; say, people who have some exposure or legal assistance are being dealt with overtly -- as Huey P. Newton is being dealt with California. As -- Dr. King, Lee Otis Johnson (from Texas), and any brothers and sister who are being killed, disovertly massacred, or whatever you want to call it. The country is beginning to move very strategently to cause division within the ranks of the Black movement. One of the ways they surmount this is from within -- to cause a lot of dissention, Black people shoudn't become involved in fighting internally or knocking one another. We have to begin to pull together. We have to begin to support the Huey's and the Lee Otis Johnson's, and anybody that is arrested that violated by this fascist cracker. Whatever the individual has done is irrelevant on the level that we have to get together because we are one of a kind.

In the major cities, as well as the rural areas, the white people are beginning to allot large sums of money to the guerilla forces in our community and that is, in fact, the pigs. They will become the army of tomorrow, as they are today. These people are allocating all these funds so that this pig force will be prepared to do what it is presently doing and committing genocide as they did in Los Angeles with the three Panther brothers. They are capable of doing the same thing in any area of the country and are getting away with it scot free. In the case of the Orangeburg case massacre, back in February, nothing has been done about that and nobody can find anything wrong with the actions of the pigs. We have to be careful and begin to understand what is transpiring and that we are the enemy of the man of this imperialist U.S. government is in fact, committing genocide against us, it's not going to come in the future it is now presently here, as we look around today we find that a large number of brothers that we went to school with are no longer on the streets, they are in prisons. That's what this government wants to do, they want to beat our minds to the point whether we become accommodating to the system or if we don't, they will have us in a situation where they can destroy us physically. We have to be extremely careful of the system because it is becoming calculated in its destruction of Black people. It's becoming more clever as it has a hidden hand that we have to push away and become more committed and dedicated to stress the Black ideology so we can move in a unified manner. The situation is not changing at all, the man is becoming more accommodating because he thinks and sees this promise of the acres and the mule that we never got. Whitey still feels that by promising more we will listen to him and go for it and if we do go for it we will never again get the chance to be free.

The Black people have to get prepared to fight for their existence, their survival and their liberation. Although those are three different fights brought into one, they are three different areas in which we are fighting for. Black people who are confined at this point are supporting this effort of the Black movement throughout the country. They are eager to participate themselves and that is probably the reason why they will never get a chance to get on the outside of those prison walls because those places are in fact, the concentration camps, all they have to do is to move the white inmates out that the government has it made. Blacks must become at last aware, if not alarmed, over our present situation and not hesitate because we can't afford it now. With the prisons being full and the death rate over in Vietnam of the Blacks being as high as it is, we cannot stand to have any other forces pulling our man power -- No other forces! We have to begin to withdraw from both of those forces. Withdraw from the brothers who are presently in the concentration camps and also those brothers who are in Uncle Sam's Army. Because -- we are going to need Huey P. Newton and also those other brothers in Vietnam. Not because the brothers want to, but because they do not have any alternative. As we stress this ideology as people begin to understand, and develop their commitment and dedication, the road that we have to travel will not be that difficult. But we have to begin to stress this ideology.

Donald Freed's Observations

Here are some observations from my tour of the east . . . not so much intelligence as opinions, for what they are worth.

The Black Panthers are on the lips of the entire movement. It is as if the time for a map and a flag, as well as a constitution (10 points) were at hand. I know this depends on the link between the Panthers and New Africa.

I can tell you that after Chicago, the press and the White Movement are at a new level of consciousness, and the police could get out of hand at any time, as more and more they have to protect capital interests. Midnight raids may greatly increase. In this situation, White cadres (like L.A.) become a pivotal escape route.

Love, respect, and friendship for you is growing on every side.

PHILADELPHIA:

Disorganized. Great apathy toward establishment in ghetto plus very angry McCarthy liberals make situation organizable. I have a small opening. Large conference and Rally needed. Of course, if Huey P. Newton is freed, there will be no problem in his galvanizing the entire eastern seaboard. This is true of Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale, to a large extent.

NEW YORK:

Plenty of money and help available now! Plans to exploit financial and publicity resources can be easily made.

CLEVELAND:

A special situation, it seems to me, that must be analyzed at length and in person. I really can't trust anything I might write down. Ahmed is receiving very favorable reporting in some quarters. The big question about Cleveland points to infiltration of groups that should be supporting Ahmed.

CHICAGO:

I have openings here. There is organization and big university potential ready. Bobby Seale made large impact during Democratic convention. Strike of Black bus drivers has become cutting edge. Daley is through in the ghetto. New York and Chicago are now close to San Francisco in terms of support potential. Government inability to infiltrate Panthers is driving them crazy. We are lucky to have time to improve security. It is bad now, all show, sloppy logistics, etc.

LOS ANGELES:

Slow, but sure. A doctor added to the group. Small fundraisings and teach-ins being arranged (schedule enclosed). Rent Union formation opens one door, Peace and Freedom shakeup another. It is time here, as elsewhere, for conventions, work shops, and everywhere the need is for printed material of all kinds. We are working on underground press and film campaign for Eldridge Cleaver. We have begun to lay the groundwork for police review boards (as per Oakland).

SUMMARY:

Young White radicals are powerfully attracted to the Panthers, but, predictably, they have identified at the level of the "pigs" and do not yet see the hard core of love in the ten points. Also, they are afraid of the Panthers, as they were of SNCC, much more than is healthy. A new book could help in this regard, and RAMPARTS.

Underemployed Blacks are caught by the war's savage inflation, and they are through with the system. Now is the time to hit hard at the ministers, politicians, Toms. For they have backed a loser in Humphrey, and labor has sold out the Black worker. In the ghetto, the ministers and the magicians have become paper tigers.

PIGS SHOOK UP

By JAY WHITE
(Black Panther Staff Writer)

Black strategy is to pit one against ten -- Black tactics' pit ten against one!

Such is the revolutionary battle plan that is being put into action by more and more Black people in the continuing fight against the forces of evil in today's "racist-America."

Those who follow the political ideology best expressed by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY have made it clear that the occupying forces of the Black communities will be removed.

The pigs no longer feel secure. Pigs are shook up. Now they are intensifying their screams of hatred, threats, and destruction. The pigs are trembling with fear at the sight of a Black face. The lowly animals have gone wild.

The pigs are beginning to strike blindly and without reason. But -- all because some underground Black people are applying the tactics of guerilla warfare to this racist America!

The headline of the daily papers tell the story!

PIGS SHOT IN CLEVELAND
GUNFIRE AT HUNTERS POINT
PIG STATION

Guerilla warfare in the cities of the United States (?) It is impossible for the hog to deal with revolutionary Black people on such a level?

Black people have begun to escalate the struggle for liberation from the white power structure of this one-sided (white-sided) society. Black people have suddenly speeded up time. Armed with the correct political ideology (and, baby, Black people ARE "arming themselves") AND moving with the "soul of Black People" -- BLACK PEOPLE WILL WIN!



WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE

BLACK COMMUNITY POLICE DEMANDED

RICHMOND, CALIF. -- Spokesmen for the Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party announced that they are "demanding that the Richmond City Council place before the people of Richmond an amendment that will replace the present police department with two separate departments, one for the Black community of Richmond, and one for the white neighborhoods." The proposal, which was presented at last week's meeting, was similar to measures that two groups are pushing in Berkeley and Oakland: It would create elected neighborhood police councils. In the Black and white areas, to exercise direct control over police personnel and policy. The present police chief would be replaced by police commissioners appointed by the neighborhood councils. All peace officers would be legally required to live in the community they police.

Mrs. Kathleen Cleaver -- wife of author, Presidential Candidate, and Panther Leader, Eldridge Cleaver -- stated that the Panthers regard Richmond as "one of the most oppressed Black communities in this area: The Richmond police are audacious in their terror against the Black community." She was joined in this charge by Ross Willis, chairman of the Police Control Committee of the Peace and Freedom Party. The two spokesmen announced that their groups would begin circulating petitions for the charter amendment. If the City Council turns them down, they issued the following joint statement:

"On June 25, a white Richmond cop shot and seriously wounded Charles Mims, a 15 year old Black youth. The Richmond police, who occupy the Black community to protect the property of Standard Oil, Rheem Manufacturing, and other members of the local and national power structure, excused this attempted murder by accusing the victim of joy-riding in a car that MAY HAVE been taken without the owner's permission. But Black people, and many whites, understood that this unprovoked assault was merely the latest case of a white policeman arrogantly acting as judge, jury and executioner of the lives of Black people.

"The Richmond City Council, confronted with the just outrage of the Black community, attempted to "cool" the situation by passing a resolution restricting policemen from shooting anyone, unless, IN THE OPINION OF THE POLICEMAN, his own life, or the life of another person was in immediate danger. But even this meek effort at restraining the police was reversed by the City Council when the merchants, organized by the Birch Society all other racists and reactionaries, insisted that the right to indiscriminate murder be restored to the police. And, two months later, on August 29, a 17 year old Black youth was again shot in the back by Richmond police, while allegedly fleeing a car theft. These events have made it clear to the Black people of Richmond that the City Council is the mere puppet of business interests which use the police to enforce their exploitation and robbery of the Black community.

"Last month in Chicago, Hubert Humpty-Dump was picked as the Presidential Candidate of the major Establishment Party, while inside and outside the Convention Hall, protestors, newsmen and even delegates were viciously beaten, gassed and dragged off to jail. These events, witnessed by millions of Americans for the first time, have given unmistakable warning of the very clear and present danger of a police state in this country. At the same time, crazed cops have run amuck from one end of this country to the other. The following are but a few examples of police madness and terror that have come to public attention in the past few months:

- In New York, in July three off-duty policemen, angered at a traffic tie-up, shot each other, killing one and wounding two!
- Again, in New York, two weeks ago, 200 off-duty pigs, wearing Wallace for President Buttons, wantonly attacked 15 members of the Black Panther Party, who were attempting to attend a court hearing for one of their leaders!
- In San Francisco, last week, an 11- year veteran of the police force was outraged by the ferocious meowing of a stray cat in his neighborhood, and, in a drunken stupor, he fired a stray bullet which struck and seriously injured an elderly woman. The policeman was not charged with any crime and was returned the next day to his beat in a children's playground!
- Last week, on-duty Oakland pigs -- who had allegedly been drinking -- fired more than a dozen rifle and shotgun blasts into a Building housing the national headquarters of the Black Panther Party and several occupied apartments!

And, in the big cities across the country, police terror and stockpiling of tanks, armor-piercing ammunition, and other atrociously anti-human weapons is escalating. A state of undeclared war presently exists between the police aggressors and the Black community.

"The Black People of Richmond, like Black people everywhere, do not desire war, but peace: they have raised the demand that the occupying army of police be withdrawn from their community and replaced by a security force of Black people from the ghetto. We are therefore carrying this demand to the Richmond City Government in the form of an amendment to the Richmond City Charter, which would divide the present police department into two separate departments, one for the Black community and one for the white neighborhoods, and place them both under the direct control of the people in the communities they are charged with serving and protecting.

"If the City Council refuses to place this measure before the people of Richmond, we will circulate petitions to force the Council to put the proposal on the ballot. We sincerely hope that the City Council and the white majority of Richmond will support this peaceful means of resolving a very explosive conflict: If they refuse, THEY must bear the responsibility for the consequences: Black people are determined to rid themselves of police terror and oppression by whatever means the power structure makes necessary."

WHAT IS A PIG?

A low natured beast that has no regard for law, justice, or the rights of the people; a creature that bites the hand that feeds it; a foul depraved traducer, usually found masquerading as the victim of an unprovoked attack.



Pig Chief Warns Little Pigs to "Be Cool!"

OAKLAND -- Pig Chief Chs. R. Gain appealed to his pig force not to be demoralized by the recent and cowardly shoot-up of the Black Panther Party's National Headquarters that was instituted by two of their fellow pigs.

This appeal followed the hesitant arrest and discharge from his pig squad of pigs Richard Williams, 28, and Robert Farrell, 26, after they had staged an early morning sneak-attack on the Black Panther Party National Headquarter building (see photos: Front Page).

Still, the two pigs were released on $3,000 bail, while the Panthers' Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver's bail was in excess of $50,000 last April from allegedly trying to defend himself from the white racist scum of the Oakland pig department.

The two running dogs, Williams and Farrell, were in their funky-blue uniforms and a pig patrol car when they fired fifty or more rounds of ammunition in the National Headquarters building. Chief pig Gain has begged all of his little pigs to "be cool," stating: "Let us continue our professional dedication to provide fair and efficient 'pig service" in this community. (Editor's Note: BULLSHIT!)

(Jay White's added note: Last October, the BLACK PANTHER PARTY NEWSPAPER called attention to the fact that the "Pigs Are Running Amuck!" This article made Gain, the head hog of the Oakland pig department, very, very, mad. He spent 30 minutes talking about it on TV. Now the daily press nationwide has been through the farce of the Oakland pig department and mentioned that stark raving maniacs are patrolling the Black communities. But, so far, there has been no comment from the racist, Gain. We could say that the cat's got his trouble, but cat's don't associate with pigs!)

Candidates Stand on Racist Verdict

(Editor's Note:) The following statement was issued today by Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers' Party candidate for Vice President, in response to the conviction in Oakland, Calif. of Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton for the alleged crime of "voluntary manslaughter")

The conviction of Black Panther Party Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton in Oakland, Calif. was a racist decision by a racist court.

Huey P. Newton has been brutalized, wounded and now falsely convicted of manslaughter for one reason and one reason along -- because he is a leader of the Black Panther Party and a revolutionary fighter for black liberation. The aughorities wanted to get Newton, and by getting him, hurt the movement he represents.

Their attempt must be turned around. The entire movement for human rights -- black and white -- must now develop a powerful campaign to win freedom for Huey P. Newton. Thousands of people should be enlisted in a massive national and international defense effort.

Along with the growth of the black liberation movement, there has developed, on the other side, the forces of organized racism as typified by such movements as that of George Wallace. These white supremacists must be fought on an uncompromising, militant basis. A giant campaign on behalf of Huey Newton can be a powerful lever in advancing the struggle.

And it can make it possible to free an innocent man.

Pig Bites Panther

Eye-witness report by Panther Brother Bobby L. Bowen

(Richmond) - A pool hall which was occupied by Black people in Richmond, California, was attacked by a (militant) white racist group. Four Black men were wounded. They were wounded by shotgun pellets. The fourth, C. J. Farr, a member of the Richmond Black Panther Party, received numerous teeth wounds in his back, although he disarmed one of the white assailants of his weapon. One of the Black brothers that was wounded may lose a limb as a result of the vicious, unprovoked attack.

NEW YORK PANTHERS

(NEW YORK) -- The Black Panther Party of Brooklyn, New York, last week filed suit against the New York pig department and the entire white racist power structure in the city. Named in the suit were Pig Commissioner Leary, the Law Enforcement Group (usually called L-e-g), Robert Ragei, Chairman of L-E-G, Pig Captain Vincent Brogan, Pigs officers with shield numbers 18675 and 3689, and against Brooklyn District Attorney Aaron Koota.

The Black Panthers suit demanded:

1. Decentralization of the New York Pig Department.
2. Temporary injunction against further violence against the Black Panther Party members and Black people of New York City.
3. That all pigs should wear name tags.
4. That all off-duty pigs should be disarmed when engaged in political activities, or when in or around a courthouse.
5. An end to brutal harrassment and surveillance of Black Panther Party members.
6. Unlawful search and/or searches of the Black Panther Party premises, and homes of its members.
7. To enjoin the Brooklyn District Attorney Pig from making or uttering public statements that would prejudice the trial of any Black Panther and/or the Black people of New York City.

The Pig Department is uptight about these shrewd, legal moves by the B.P.P. Captain Ford (N.Y. Black Panther Party) has stated that the Panthers are going to "... get the pigs ass this time!"

The following is a reprint of the original text, unclassified message received 28 August 1968 at Headquarters, USAF Communications Center. All details of the text are exactly as originally transmitted.

Personal for General McConnell from General Estes.

Sub. 2nd Lietenant Hugh F. Smith, FV3179560.

I am informed that facts and circumstances of this matter have been discussed with you by General Manss and Capucci and that there is secretarial interest. Smith is organizing a 'Peace In Viet-Nam' demonstration for men in uniform to take place in San Francisco. He applied for and received a permit for a demonstration to be held on 21 September. Subsequently, permit changed to 12 October. Strongly believe this demonstration should be quashed if possible because of possible severe impact on military discipline throughout the services. There is no AFR specifically proscribing this type of activity. AFR 35-78 is pointed solely to civil rights demonstrations. Since there are national policy considerations in such an order it should emanate from DOD or at least Air Force Level. I recommend this be done at once so that Smith will realize that if he proceeds he subjects himself with certainty to criminal prohibiting such activity believe any criminal prosecution would be teneous to say the least, particularly in view of the political climate of the day. If the foregoing is unattainable. I reluctantly recommend that we be given authority to proceed with dispatch with the AFR 36-3 action which has been recommended by the commander 349th MAW and concurred in by General Sherrill, Commander 22AF. I realize this would result in a discharge under honorable conditions, but the disposition of Smith is relatively unimportant compated to the highly undesireable impact on military discipline if Armed Forces personnel are permitted to demonstrate in uniform against natonal defense policies with impunity. -

NO COMPROMISE

By Jay White

(Black Panther Staff Writer)

"The People and the People alone are the motive force in the making of world history!"

-- Mao

This is the basic fact that was overlooked by the pigs who are trying to railroad our Minister of Defense. The racists believe that history is made with technology. The error in judgment is most apparent in the racist decision reached by the jury in the brother's case.

They refused to listen to the voice of the people and instead chose to follow the dictates of the power structure. They believed that by so doing they would be aligned with the forces of the future. But in fact, they are in the position of a person trapped on the top floor of a burning building who refuses to jump into a life net. They will be destroyed.

The devils insist upon adding insult to injury by presenting their decision as a compromise. But Black People are not fooled by their tricks. We know that to find Huey P. Newton guilty of anything except loving his people is a gross miscarriage of justice. It only confirms the teaching of the Black Panther Party that no black can receive a fair trial in the racist courts of America.

We do not compromise with evil, we destroy it. The decision was made by the imperialists, we have no choice, the Panther will move to destroy this system thoroughly, wholly, resolutely and completely.

We shall win because we understand the true forces of the future. We have aligned ourselves with the revolutionary forces of the world and we shall not cease until victory is ours.

They did not free Huey P. Newton therefore, THE SKY IS THE LIMIT!

WITHOUT A PEOPLE'S ARMY, THE PEOPLE HAVE NOTHING

EVIDENCE OF . . .

PIGS RUN AMOK

PANTHER NEWS STATED THESE FACTS BEFORE THEY HAPPENED . . .

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CAN DIG WHAT THE POWER STRUCTURE IS ATTEMPTING TO DO TO . . .

IF THE PIGS WANT WAR – THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY WILL DEAL WITH THEM ON OUR OWN TERMS . . .

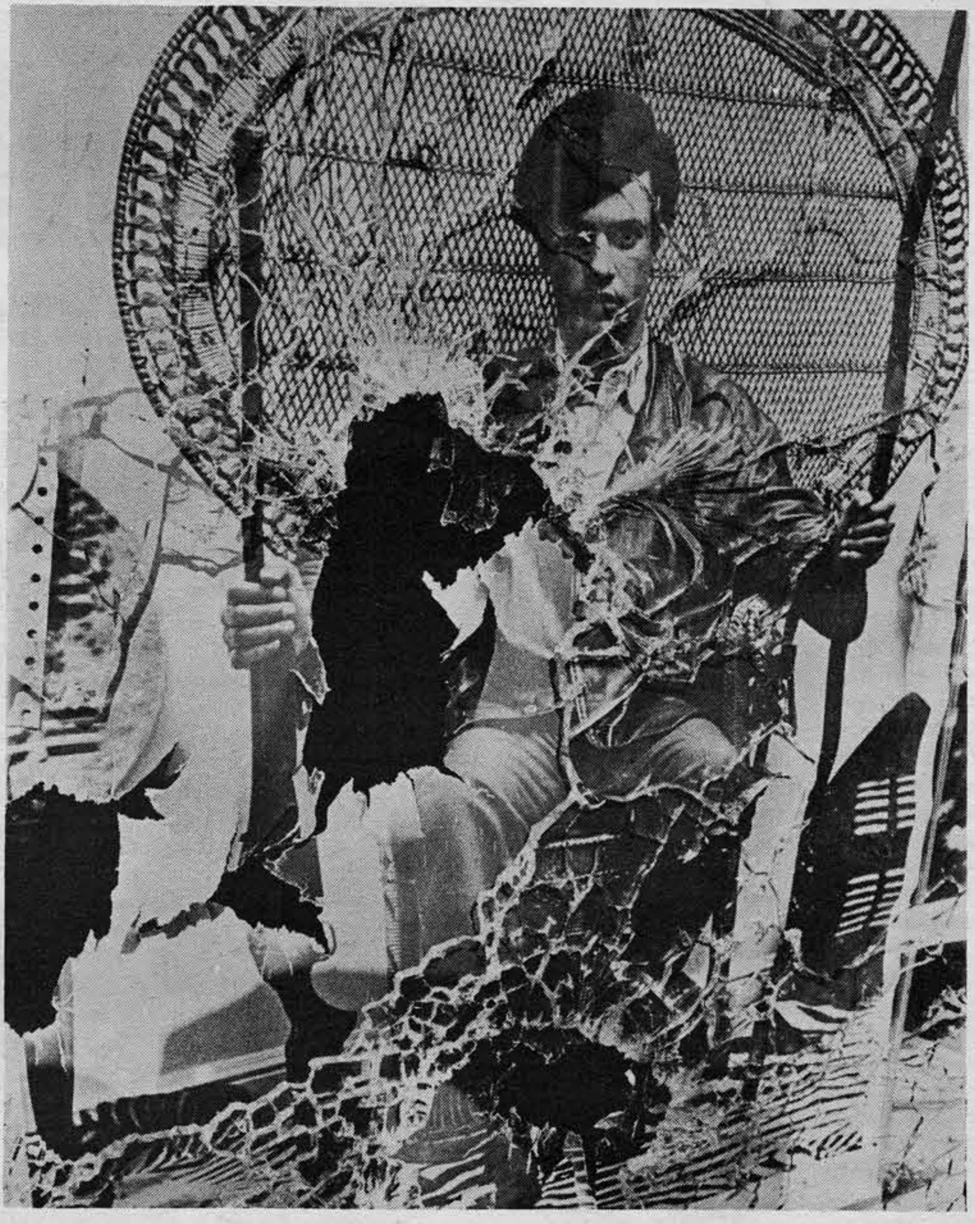


PHOTO ABOVE:
Shattered window-poster of the Honorable Huey P. Newton blasted by pigs.

PHOTO BELOW:
Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, stands in front of blasted window at Black Panthers' National Headquarters.



INFORMATION

By Eldridge Cleaver - Minister of Information, Black Panther Party

(From N.Y. Telephone Interviews with the Minister of Information)

QUESTION: Just who and what are the Black Panthers?

CLEAVER: The Black Panther Party is a political party that originated in Oakland, California, and was started by Huey P. Newton, who is the minister of defense of the party, and our chairman, Bobby Seale. The party seeks to organize black people so they can move and take control of the life, the politics, and the destiny of the black community.

What really makes the Black Panther Party stand out from other groups that have originated in that community is the fact that we feel it is necessary to use guns in a defensive manner against aggression, particularly by the Police Department, vigilante groups, etc. Because we have used these guns for our defense, this is what most people have come to associate with the Black Panther Party. But this is only one point on our platform. We have a ten-point platform that outlines the basic grievances and the basic desires and needs of black people as we see them, and we seek to organize the people in the black community who have never been organized before, such as the so-called lower class black people who are not candidates for membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

QUESTION: Since you have written SOUL ON ICE, and the book has been widely hailed in this country, how do you resolve your relationship now as minister of information for the Black Panther Party and as a social critic?

CLEAVER: I think that the two work very handily together. We're dealing with the same thing, you know. There's no conflict in my book between my politics. The book tries to pass on information, and my position in the party sort of passes on information. We're dealing with interpretations of what we're all involved in, and I see that they work out very well together. As a matter of fact, the book itself has helped considerably in getting a lot of the program and activity of the Panther Party across.

QUESTION: You mentioned earlier that the guns of the Black Panthers are to be used for defensive purposes. We've talked about America as being a violent country. Does not this defensive stand add to this violence?

CLEAVER: Any act of defense could be categorized as violence if there is any type of conflict involved, but I think that some violence or conflict is justified. For instance, I think a man who moves to protect himself from an attack, though he used a violent means to dispel that attack, is completely justified in doing so. The right to self-defense has always been recognized in society, and simply because we have a very violent situation on our hands in this country doesn't mean that we have to forego this particular right.

QUESTION: What are your feelings about the new gun control law? Do you feel that this particular law is geared towards the blacks?

CLEAVER: Yes, I do, particularly here in our local area where we see these vicious politicians who are known to be open enemies of the black community. We see them out in the forefront of the forces calling for gun control. At the same time they're calling for gun control, they're escalating the armament and the preparation of the police department and supplying them with all kinds of new weapons; and we feel that this is aimed directly at the black community.

We live in a time when black people are becoming more and more impatient. The philosophy of non-violence has been murdered along with its prophet Dr. Martin Luther King. The power structure of this country knows that the black liberation struggle is turning to violence as an alternative and so they're moving now to disarm people before anything happens. All of this ballyhoo about gun legislation, we feel, is aimed at disarming the black liberation struggle and the allies of that struggle in the white community.

QUESTION: Would you define the defensive program of the Black Panthers in terms of guns? Do you promote vigilante parties?

CLEAVER: No, we don't promote vigilante parties, and we don't approve of them. We feel that the primary problem confronting the black people today is the problem of being organized. The chief impediment to organizations of the black community comes from the activities of the police department. The police department functions like an occupying army in the black community, and it intimidates black people. It disturbs meetings, prevents black people from having peaceful assemblies, and the very presence of the police, with the history they have with black people, makes them an undesirable element in our community. We seek to remove them from the community because they are constantly killing and terrorizing our people.

We feel that before much more progress can be made, this particular problem has to be dealt with. So we call for the immediate withdrawal of the white racist policemen from our community, and we call for enactment of the principle that those who police our community must live in our community. We want the community to control the policemen who police our communities. We feel that it's a form of community imperialism to have a police force occupying our community that is controlled by the white suburbs. This is an obnoxious situation, and we want it to end.

QUESTION: Have the police department and the Black Panthers ever sat down at the same table and attempted to negotiate any of the problems?

CLEAVER: There have been very minimal direct contacts, such as when we've staged benefits and rallies at auditoriums where security has to be discussed; but they prefer to do that behind closed doors; and they want to meet with us behind closed doors as they've done with a lot of other groups in the black communities.

One of the main programs that we should have today is their coming into the communities and putting different groups of black people on these poverty programs and buying them out if they agree to perform in a certain manner.

We've been approached by some of the flunkies of the power structure to see if we would be willing to accept some of their Uncle Tom money, but publically they try to pretend that the last thing they would do would be to condescend to talk with the Black Panthers. This creates a situation exposing them to a lot of people who feel that public officials and public servants should be open to all elements of the public, and they have an image of being very opposed to everything in the black community, particularly the militants, that speak out.

QUESTION: In a recent issue of RAMPARTS (June 29, 1968), the article about the Black Panthers (THE PERSECUTION AND ASSASSINATION OF THE BLACK PANTHERS AS PERFORMED BY THE OAKLAND POLICE UNDER THE DIRECTION OF CHIEF CHARLES R. GAIN, MAYOR JOHN READING, ET AL.) ends with the sentence: "And the chances are, too, that the cops will go on, steadily and inexorably, trying to bust, and if necessary kill, every Panther in Oakland." Mr. Cleaver, what is going to be done to stop police brutality and killing?

CLEAVER: I think that if the people who are standing on the sidelines don't move to harness the police departments of this country (not just in Oakland, because this is something that's going on all over this country), there will be no alternative to the black community but to wage a defensive war against the police. I think this is a very likely possibility.

I know that people are psychologically and materially prepared to do this because it's becoming a matter of life and death. For instance, Bobby Hutton was murdered in Oakland on April 6. Here in a big area there have been about four other shootings and killings of young black men by police and so the last straw has already been placed on the camel's back. Unless these police departments are brought down to a level where they are acceptable to a community, there can be nothing but a reply to them, in time; and it seems that that's the way it's going to be.

QUESTION: Tell me a little about the Peace and Freedom Party with which the Black Panther Party is working.

CLEAVER: The Peace and Freedom Party is composed primarily of white people who were disgusted by the two party system -- the so-called Republican and Democratic parties. They've broken away from those two parties, and the type of corrupt policies that they've been practicing since they've come into existence, and formed a new third party that seeks to align itself with the legitimate aspirations of the black community and with the anti-war movement in this country. It seems to chart a new direction in national politics.

We felt that this was a positive sign coming out of the white community and we saw no reason not to work with them, because we share some of the same goals and attitudes.

QUESTION: Who do you think black people should support for president?

CLEAVER: I think you should support me for president. I am running against Dick Gregory on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. Gregory, Dr. Benjamin Spock and Mrs. Coretta King have been proposed as possible nominees. I think I have it sewed up.

QUESTION: Do you think you'll get rid of Reagan in California?

CLEAVER: If we can't get rid of Reagan, we can't survive. Our survival depends upon getting rid of racist politicians like him.

QUESTION: Why did Dick Gregory call off the boycott of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago?

CLEAVER: Richard Gregory issued a public statement regarding that decision. He didn't want to be involved in any provocative situation that might lead to violence because a few things had happened about that time. I don't know if it was an uprising, or a shooting, or some event with overtones of violence. This was during the time when the racist pig, Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, issued the orders to shoot and kill the black people if they were thought to be looting. Dick Gregory said he would cooperate in that effort; he didn't want to have anything to do with any trouble or uprising. This is a good example of the wishy-washy way Dick has always moved in those matters. This is one of the reasons I oppose his nomination for the Peace and Freedom Party. I wouldn't want to see his politics institutionalized.

QUESTION: Do you have any particular message for the Black college students as to what they could do to help benefit the whole of Black America?

CLEAVER: I say to black students and potential students that they should return with their hearts and their minds and their souls to the black community to relate to the brothers and sisters who have not had the opportunity that they've had. They should use their intelligence and their skills to help organize the black community for it survival. We are faced now with the prospects of oppression on an international level by a very racist and inhuman power structure which, as it winds up the war in Vietnam, turns to a second war, which is the war against black people right here in Babylon. I say to college students and to all people who want to see a new world and a better world that they should unite to form the type of power block that can defeat this racist power structure and put it in the garbage can of history where it belongs.

QUESTION: Don't you believe that Ghandi did a great deal more with non-violence?

CLEAVER: It may be. To a great extent he liberated his country with the use of non-violence, but he was dealing with people other than the racist yankees that we must confront here. He was dealing with a minority of occupying forces. We're dealing with the majority of a very complacent people who surround us, who have us dispersed throughout their population, who have a tradition of murdering and treating us in a very brutal and violent fashion, and who don't seem to be able to recognize the fact that black people have suffered beyond any more tolerance of a continuation of these conditions.

To those who urge us to use adoptions from other lands, adoptions that in effect leave us merciless before very vicious enemies, we would say to them to take their non-violence and go preach it to the racist President of this country. Teach non-violence to LBJ. Teach non-violence to Chief Charles Gain, the number one pig in the Oakland Police Department. Teach non-violence to the racist policemen all over this country who are murdering the children of black people. Don't come to the black community and teach the victims of this violence to be non-violent; teach the perpetrators of violence to be non-violent and then we can talk about it.

QUESTION: What would you recommend that the typical whites do to help you?

CLEAVER: I think any white person who is interested in the welfare of mankind should take a good look at what's going on in this country. This is what's really happening. The white students of this country have already taken a look at what's going on, and they don't like it. So I say that they should organize themselves into machinery that will be capable of dealing with the revolution from what we call the white mother country.

We feel that we have black people here who are colonized by the white people. We refer to that as the relationship between the black colony and the white mother country. We feel that we need to wage a national liberation struggle in the black colony and a revolution in the white mother country. Young white people are interested in doing this should organize themselves in a fashion to deal with the politics and the economics and the social practices in this country and should be prepared to work with those elements in the black community who understand this process, and who are willing to work with them. We think that with this type of coalition, we will have the strength to bring about the revolutionary changes that this country must have if there's going to be a future for our America or for mankind.

QUESTION: You talk about revolutionary changes. Let's see if your argument makes any sense. First of all, you've got to consider, if you talk about violence, what percentage of population is Negro in the United States, and you've got to recognize that you are outnumbered by about 10 to 1. You've also got to consider how many resources in the United States are Negro-controlled. How many factories, how many food-production arteries do you control? Do you own the trucking companies to get your men and machines from place-to-place, when the revolution takes place? How many airlines and how many communication systems are black controlled? You're asking black people to organize and be willing to die for the country.

CLEAVER: I also said kill, didn't I?

QUESTION: Kill and die. Well, that's a tremendous responsibility -- you're asking them to kill and die.

Contd. on page 14, col. 1



So Called Negro . . . WAKE UP!

By Sister Wa-Keera
(Coleen Gilmore)

Wake up. This is a time for everyone to face reality. We "must" and have to come out of the Negroes bag and be black like we really are. We must form Unity and face the problems which confront all black people, whether they be in the United States, or in Africa, or anywhere else. We must form binds, and become closer together.

The cracker examines us all the time. He has the black communities under a microscope to find out how we are thinking. Like I said previously, be black, not Negro. The Negro looks out for nobody but himself. The Negro doesn't want to become progressive and doesn't want his race to accomplish anything either. The Negro calls the Black Movement "racism." The Negro condemns H. Rap Brown, Malcolm X, The Black Panther Party, for their "Militant" look on situations. The Negroes talk about the way that these black people riot. Maybe they had reasons. Maybe if the Negroes look around, they would have reasons too.

Then again, the Negro is suppose to be a non-violent person, as Rev. King pointed out. Tell me, would you let your Blood Flow Into The Street"? That's a dam shame. Our blood has been shed SINCE 1619. And you want to keep shedding it? ? ? You're out of your mind . . .

The Negroes in America don't want to become involved in anything that is all black. They feel that it is dangerous. They feel that the blacks are irresponsible and not capable of doing anything together.

I only hope that you negroes will come into realization -- and become Black!

BLACK REQUIEM

by Hosea Mills

Brothers and Sisters, this U.S. racist pig society has succeeded in pulling off the greatest program of mass genocide in all of human history. Dig it, these honky pigs have been so slick, they raped, tortured and brutalized black people in this country for four hundred years and still had "negros" walking around beliving that they were alive. What has been this honky's "boss trump" card that has kept black people down? He has fucked over and messed up our black minds so skillfully that we emerged the American negro, created and fashioned by a white racist society. We didn't (some of us still don't) know who we were and are -- descendents of glorious black nations which flourished while the honkies in Europe shivered and cringed in caves and ate raw meat.

Why has this genocide of black minds been perpetuated? Because just as the honkies figured, Black consciousness and or self-awareness is the key to the entire black liberation movement in this racist dog society.

It is no accident that the "honky-controlled" school system of San Francisco is divided into a "high and low" grade system and that the largest percentage of the black and other minority occupy the lower grade levels. This is systematical genocide. Black children, Mexican children, and other minority children are not receiving an education. Get to this, when black parents demand control of the schools in their community and get rid of the honky teachers they have to face a racist teachers union and then compromise with the union. If the honky doesn't put you in a "trick bag" through the regular school system, he'll stifle you by his Mickey Mouse vocational school set-up. For example, learn to be a mechanic, then fight racist dog union shops - why you're in a bag and the strings are pulled tight and knotted. Why? No black controlled economics in the black community.

The u.s. honkie is such a racist that he started publishing and reading research reports which proved (ha-ha) through scientific tests used in school systems all over the country that black children were mentally inferior to whites. Negros were even believing they were inferior. But dig on this, the brother who is pimping and hustling and riding in new Eldorado's can't be inferior. But this brother is as smart, quick, and cunning as the honkie with the college diploma, both are "living" - but the brother who is pimping and hustling has too limited a view on life is squandering and wasting away his natural mental resources. We've been busy cheating each other, helping the man, a dude who could righteously pomp and hustle, Detroit Red, became the most politically acute and humanistic Black man in modern time. What changed Detroit Red to Malcolm X, leader of the Black liberation movement? Dig on this black brothers and sisters, brother Malcolm entitled the chapter of his period of "self-education" "Sacred" (dig it) In Malcolm's own words, "I have often reflected upon the new vistas that reading opened to me. I knew right then that reading had changed forever the course of my life. As I see it today the ability to read awoke inside me some long dormant craving to mentally alive . . . My homemade education gave me, with every additonal book that I read, a little bit more sensitively to the deafness, dumbness, and blindness that was afflicting the Black race in America . . . you will find me never with a free fifteen minutes in which I'm not studying something I feel might be able to help the Black Man.

Brother Malcolm is our first example of the "self-educated" or re-educated contemporary Black Liberation Leader. All of the "together" present leaders of the Black liberation movement have been through this "re-educational" process; and it is not only essential that our leaders experience this "re-educational"; but that every member of the Black community of Afro-American be "re-educated". Heuy P. Newton our Minister of Defense is a politically acute and sensitive leader of Black People, not because of what he was taught in a racist school system, but because of what he chose to learn to benefit Black People. Eldridge Cleaver, our Minister of Information was appointed by the University of California to be chief lecturer of a course examining racism and its roots in America society not because of the education he received in white controlled racist school system, but because of his experience as a black man in a racist society and his own personal "re-education". Chairman Bobby Seale and Prime Minister Stokley Carmichael, like, Heuy P. Newton, have become Black Liberation leaders politically universal in scope, aware of and dedicated to the needs of all black people because of a "re-educational" process that demanded they choose, accept and study everything that might feel the needs of all black people. The truth is that any formal education any black person has gotten from this racist society is geared to and to a large extent has succeeded in killing productive black minds.

Brothers and Sisters, all of us must be "re-educated". It is essential that we are aware of ourselves as black people; knowing who we are; what moment in history we're surrounded by; what we want; and how we'll determine our own destiny. Stemming from this self-awareness and also the key to our liberation movement is the need for political education, Brother Frantz Fanon has said that political education is teaching the people that all the power is theirs. Black self-awareness (through culture) and political education (knowledge of the power being ours) can only truly liberate the people. All black people-parents, children, college, high school, elementary, junior high students, winos, welfare recipients, pimps and prostitutes, church going sisters and brothers, doctors, lawyers, bus drivers, postal workers - re-educate yourselves. Let's not kid ourselves - the survival of black people is at stake. So let's stop sucking and jiving. Suck up and use every opportunity the honky gives us to learn technical skills, then use these skills to destroy the racist dog. We must not be afraid to nurture a contemporary "black style" to handle the problems of our times. We must once again become thinkers(not Negro trained Robots) capable of establishing and governing our own nation. And finally black people must study and utilize everything that fills the needs of the people now. And everything that will be essential during the period of true revolution.

Quote:

> You can be educated in soul, vision, and feeling as well as in mind. To see your enemy and know him is part of the complete education of man . . .
>
> Marcus Garvey

let's get it together Black People

OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT

WHAT WE BELIEVE

The program is usually divided into one section of ten points entitled "What We Want" and then ten paragraphs explaining these points in a section entitled "What We Believe." For the sake of clarity, we have put each one of the ten points in "What We Want" immediately above its corresponding paragraph in "What We Believe."

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

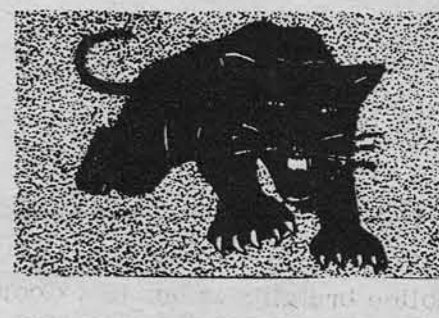
We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



FREE HUEY NOW

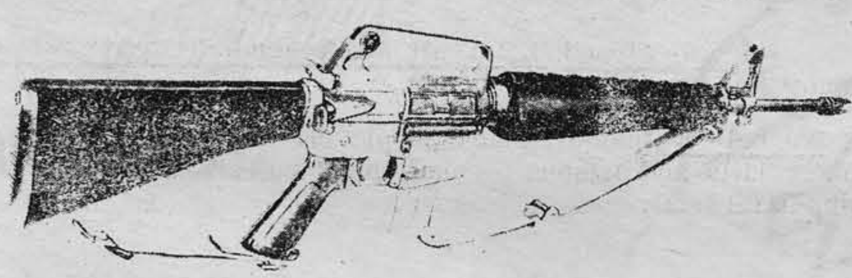
GUNS BABY GUNS

REMEMBER THE WORDS OF



BROTHER MALCOLM





MILLIONS OF BLACK PEOPLE ARE MAKING YOUR DREAMS COME TRUE

Born May 19, 1925

MALCOLM, MALCOLM

The significance of Brother Malcolm To The Black Revolution

By Earl Anthony

In the Black Panther Party paper, we have a regular series called Remember the Words of Brother Malcolm -- Millions of Black People are Making Your Dreams Come True. Each paper, as we addressed ourselves to a significant contemporary issue, we could look back into the recorded speeches of Malcolm X to see if he had said anything about the subject -- so that we could keep focus on the significant issue. What amazed me -- as it would many other people if they would really think about it -- was that Malcolm X had spoken the truth on almost every important issue that plagued black people and the non-white people of the third world then, and plagues them now. Whether it was Vietnam, the black man and draft, guerilla warfare, LBJ, the Congo, black awareness and self-determination, etc.

Malcolm said it all. This is not a childish, immature adulation for the man. When I say that Malcolm said it all, I mean that as a political thinker, there was no black man during his generation who better understood and articulated the problems and the plight of twenty-two million Afro-Americans. I do not speak for white people, or understand their problem, however, they have not produced a man of the stature of Malcolm, with as much charismatic appeal.

When we dovetail the events that have led to the high stage of black and white resistance in this country in 1968, there are two experiences which we must consider. They are the northern and the southern experience. The southern experience is not exemplified by organizations such as SNCC and SCLC -- and individuals such as Stokely Carmichael, Bob Moses, Robert Williams -- and their efforts to organize black people and sharpen such glaring contradictions as voting rights, segregated education, and segregated public accommodations. The northern experience is best exemplified by Elijah Muhammad and the shining black Prince, Malcolm X. They primarily concerned themselves with moving black people to realize the importance of self-determination and that racism is not indivisible in this country.

It is very important to understand that black people saw a difference in the actions of the white social and political structure in the South, and the white and political structure in the North. The contradictions of America's image, and her reality, were glaring in the South. They constantly let you know that you were a "nigger," and second class. The contradictions in the North are not as easily distinguishable. Therefore, black people readily admitted that there was racism in the South, but were hard put to make the same admission about the north. Malcolm drove the point home. He showed that there was institutional and individual racism in the North, as there was in the South. There was no difference in the degree of oppression -- there was only a difference in the kind of oppression. As Malcolm said: "We're all in the South. Everything South of the Canadian border is South."

There was no dichotomy of ideology or philosophy of the vanguard of the Southern experience and Malcolm X -- the most articulate spokesman of the Northern experience of the late 50's and early 60's. Each was using the most pragmatic political tools at its disposal at that time. 1966 was a historical signpost in the black liberation struggle in North America. The concept of Black Power dramatically fused the Northern and Southern experiences.

One of the greatest tributes to Malcolm is that most of the courageous spokesmen for the black liberation struggle in North America follow, and speak his teachings almost to the "tee." They do not step into a political vacuum because Malcolm had laid the groundwork. He has cleared the air of a lot of the bullshit.

When Malcolm was assassinated on February 21, 1965, at the Audubon Ballroom in New York's Harlem, it marked the darkest moment in the Afro-American Revolution. This is not to in any way dim the monumental significance of the deaths of other Afro-American heroes such as Medgar Evers, the four little girls in Birmingham, Emmett Till, Matthew Johnson, and others. But a nation takes on the character and the strength of its leader. When John Kennedy was assassinated, white people and many black people with Anglo-Saxon orientation cried. The white people cried because Kennedy represented White America. The black people who cried were confused -- they thought Kennedy represented them. By the same token, when Brother Malcolm was assassinated, black people cried because he represented the Afro-American nation. He was the political and spiritual heart and soul of twenty-two million Afro-Americans. Those black people who cried when Kennedy was assassinated, and felt no grief when Malcolm was assassinated, had better start doing some soul searching before it's too late.

If you find a nation which likes war -- which is a military power -- then you can bet that its leaders are warlike. If you find a nation that is docile or peaceable, then you can bet that its leaders are docile or peaceable. A people adopt the characteristics of its chosen leaders. Malcolm X was the chosen leader of the Afro-American nation. He was not chosen by white people to lead black people, as are most of the "so-called" black leaders. He was not chosen by himself to lead black people -- which has often been the way that many black leaders have come into being. But Malcolm, by more of a consensus than any other black leader, and as much of a consensus as is necessary, was chosen by the popular will of the Afro-American nation because he understood the problem that was facing the black man. In the face of almost insurmountable white public opinion -- and some black opinion -- against him and his political and religious views, he always spoke truthfully to black people about the problem confronting us, and the possible solutions. Malcolm could be trusted.

Malcolm's death left the Afro-American nation with a feeling of powerlessness. Black people felt that Malcolm had the correct analysis of the problem confronting them. He came at you like he knew what he was doing. Recent history has proven that what Malcolm taught us was right. He warned us that integration was a "trick bag." During the late 50's and early 60's when some of our civil rights leaders were telling us to sit-in, lie-in, and boycott the places that did not hire you, Malcolm was telling us not to get hung up in that trick bag. As Malcolm said about boycotting: "You're in bad shape when you have to go to your enemy for help." Malcolm taught us to depend upon ourselves. To built up our own black communities. To control our own black politicians. As he said: "We suffer from political oppression, economic exploitation, and social degradation -- and it is all from the same man." And he was so right.

We are to blame for what happened to Malcolm. Our game was not up tight. When Malcolm made his exit from the Nation of Islam, this was a split which was perpetuated by the white enemy camp for its own ends. Brother Malcolm had just returned from his second international tour, and had begun to articulate the position that the black man's struggle in this country was akin to to all the other struggles the world over against exploitation, oppression, and colonialism. It had become crystal clear to him that black people had to close ranks -- then enlist white allies -- then enter battle against the oppressive system of this country. The groundwork had been laid for his Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). He instinctively understood the concept that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was to articulate: "When two elephants fight, only the grass is trampled." When black organizations fight, only the people are hurt. Brother Malcolm intended to cut short fraticide by bringing black organizations together under the banner of operational unity. His life was snuffed out before he could succeed. Because of our confusion -- and internal differences -- we could not make a classical reaction. A devastating retaliation.

What becomes clear here is that the oppressor has made an invalid appraisal of the forces of history, and the oppressed. The death of Malcolm did not short circuit the capacity for resistance. It strengthened the will to resist. This can be documented by the reality of the political support for Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, in his fight against legal genocide. The efforts of Stokely Carmichael, Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party, in forming the United Black Front (UBF) in Washington, D.C.

Nobody with any comprehension of what is happening can deny that this country is on the eve of full scale armed revolution between the Afro-American nation and the white Nation. The young revolutionaries of the Afro-American nation are now assuming their role at the head of the struggle, by the popular will of the people of the Afro-American nation. The source of their political and spiritual wisdom and strength is vast, extending through Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Frederick Douglas, Marcus Garvey -- but most particularly it finds its fountainhead in Malcolm X. Malcolm was a revolutionary leader. It should have been that he could have lived and led the Afro-American people through the revolution -- but fate did not have it that way. But Malcolm was the one who showed us as he taught us "You get your freedom by letting your enemy know that you'll do anything to get your freedom; then you'll get it."

Malcolm left a legacy to the young and courageous brothers and sisters of the Afro-American nation. He said of young people: "The young people are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the evil conditions that exist . . . I think that young people are the ones who can find a powerful example in the young Simbas in the Congo and the young fighters in Vietnam." Malcolm did not live to see Watts, Newark, Detroit, or Milwaukee -- but if he would have lived, I am sure that he would agree, that it is better to die a man in Detroit, than a slave in some rice paddy in Vietnam, or lynched to some tree in Mississippi.

ASSASSINATED FEBRUARY 21, 1965



BLACK POWER OR DEATH

By Obi P. Egbuna
LNS Europe

(Editor's Note: On 12 August, 1968, Obi Egbuna, said to be the Chairman of Britain's Black Panthers, was charged in a London court with others unknown to utter a writing threatening to murder police officers, and to incite such persons as might attend meetings at Hyde Park to murder or cause grievous bodily harm to police officers. At a rally in Trafalgar Square on 24 August members of the Black Panther Movement and their friends in struggle said the charge was an absurd police fabrication. London newspaper headlines of the 12th, including such blow-ups as "BLACK POWER ORDER: KILL LONDON POLICE," followed "beating police till dead," and "formula for explosive," were calculated, said Panthers at the rally, to play on people's minds and emotions: to shock, to horrify and to suggest to every 'decent' Anglo-Saxon with a Christian that their peace and security were being threatened by an upsurge of Black Violence. The Panthers said that the Establishment was using its news media to destroy the Movement and to keep the Black people of Britain in an oppressed state. The Panthers have declared in a statement that Britain maintains "a system that preaches justice and love, but practices callous injustice and racial hatred; a system that was built on violence, that thrives on violence, that exploits and dehumanizes the masses (especially Black people) with all kinds of savage and sophisticated methods of violence. The same violent system accuses and condemns the people it oppresses of being violent. With the left hand it offers powdered milk for starving Black children, while with the right hand it offers gun powder for the mass killing of the very same starving Black children. It is a system, infested and stinking with contradictions, hypocrisy and lies, in which the people are purposedly kept misinformed and confused." Egbuna, originally from Nigeria, is a writer and playright. We reproduce excerpts from his recent manuscript, "Black Power or Death," written in part with reference to the assassination of Martin Luther King.)

The tragedy of Martin Luther King is that he died a victim of social forces which -- thanks to Whitey's opium of Christianity -- he did not really understand. He based his civil rights philosophy on Ghandi's Passive Resistance. But the sad truth -- and it must be told -- is that Martin Luther King's interpretation of Ghandism was hopelessly wrong. To put it bluntly, Martin Luther King did not understand Ghandism. And this ignorance was encouraged and in fact glamorized by a Whitey Establishment which had a vested interest in Black man's self-delusion.

The first thing to know about Ghandi's Passive Resistance is that it is not a 'Minority Philosophy'. The first principle of practical Ghandism is that it is strictly a 'Majority Philosophy'. By that I mean that it is a philosophy designed to apply only in societies where the oppressed people form the majority of the population. How does it work? Passive Resistance simply means that the oppressed masses who comprise the bulk of a population are organized to 'do nothing' and, because they constitute the majority, their doing nothing brings the social machine to automatic standstill. Yet the Establishment cannot lay their hands on anyone because you cannot arrest someone for doing nothing. That is all it means.

Understandably, therefore, Passive Resistance, unlike the guerilla tactic, cannot be a 'Minority Philosophy'. It simply cannot work in a society where the oppressed people are less in number than the oppressors. It is therefore out of place in a country like the U.S., where the oppressed African-Americans are outnumbered by their Whitey oppressor race. Because while the Blacks are out in the streets marching and resisting peacefully and passively, the Whites are indoors at work, keeping the social machine going and laughing their heads off. The aim of the resistance movement, which is the instant halting of the social machine, can never therefore be achieved here. And anyway, it is ridiculous to apply a philosophy which relies on effective withdrawal of labour for its success to a situation where the very thing one is protesting about is lack of labour. How can you withdraw what you never had in the first place? No, Passive Resistance in the U.S. is like flogging a dead horse. Mere self-delusion.

The goal of the Passive Resistance tactic is to cripple an unpopular Establishment by paralyzing all functioning of society with the freeze of mass inaction. Its aim is to kick the power structure in the groin by jamming the gear of all mass-dependable national institutions. Its objective is to damage, not compromise.

Seeing it in this light, one soon discovers that Ghandi's Passive Resistance is not a non-violent philosophy after all. On the contrary, it is one of the most violent philosophies ever devised by a human mind. What is different about it is that it does its damage unseen and that, while the enemy is lulled into the illusion or morality and peaceful intentions, the weapon of destruction is wielded so invisibly and effectively that the striking power is, on the practical level, catastrophic. It is therefore not true to say that Ghandi got rid of violence in revolution. What he did was make violence invisible.

Resistance, even by definition, implies the use of force. How then can it be non-violent? Ghandi's Passive Resistance is simply revolutionary violence in disguise. But its destructive power only comes through the weight of number. If this number is not right, it is like driving a car without an engine. Like all revolutionary philosophies it has to be understood to be used creatively. Applied in the right situation, in a society where the victimized masses comprise the bulk of the nation, it could work wonders. But misunderstood and used in the wrong social medium, it could become a dangerous boomerang which returns to slay its careless sperator. Martin Luther King was a case in point. Martin's cardinal mistake was to quote Ghandi griping for years for a philosophy which would give an answer to the increasing demands of oppressed peoples for human rights without flouting the pacifism of the Christian religion, Martin jumped on Ghandhism and clung to it so feverishly that he even forgot to first read the ABC of it. Mesmerized by the apparent absence of violence, he failed to see that the bloodlessness of it is not the real objective, but only incidental. The real objective of Passive Resistance, as we have described above, is instant dislocation of the Establishment. This was not what Martin was doing. He was compromising with the Establishment, integrating the oppressed African-Americans into the very social machine they were supposed to dislocate. This was a negation of Ghandhism which as we have seen, ended in disaster.

You cannot coalesce conscience with a man who has no conscience. You cannot base your revolution on morality in a world where expediency has supplanted morality. You cannot introduce a love-your-neighbor morality in a society in which the economic system is a negation of that morality. You find yourself running up the escalator of history when it is in fact going down, and the higher up you strive and sweat to get, the lower down it carries you.

Not long ago, the White man went over to the 'new world' to set up a nation modelled on Europe. And as Franz Fanon has pointed out, they have succeeded so beautifully that that society has today become the greatest lunatic asylum in the world -- America.

Like Martin, we too have been to the mountain top, but, unlike him, we see blood in the distance flowing like a million Niggers in scarlet. We can White men in the next decade knocking and asking in broken Swahili for social integration, and we can hear the Black militia guarding the gates of the Iroko Curtain around Black Africa replying that Whitey's Swahili is not yet good enough. We can also hear the voices of our children swearing before the shrine of our thick-lipped, flat-nosed, ebony black God of Beauty saying:

"The blood of our fathers has flowed to wash away our blindness and given us sight to see you as you really are, O Black God of Beauty. We are sons and daughters of MEN who died young in battle because they did not live on their knees. Give us courage to sustain this greatest heritage so costly won.

"Black power or Death!"

my race
remembers
the taste of bronze drunk hot.

Tohicago U Tam'si
Congo - Brazzaville

SOCIAL REFORM

By Robert Lawrence

A black hand holds a hand-grenade. The black breath is held. The colonialist soldier driver through the Black colony to the oppressors-TERROR.

Black men move to their position, silently. Weapons in black hands, ready. Colonialist soldiers arrive to investigate a disturbance. Guns fire! The enemies of our people lay dying in their own blood-AMBUSH.

Black guerillas move on the barracks of the colonialist soldiers. Explosive, rifles, machine guns in black hands destroy the hated symbol of the mother country's power over the black colony-ASSAULT.

The sweet beauty of what the racist swine labels as Anarchy the destruction of "law and order" is to the black revolutionary the path of LIBERATION, FREEDOM, MANHOOD!

The night passes. The black colony rejoices in it's victories. The black guerilla prepares himself for the next confrontation. And Los Angeles steels itself off the battle to begin anew-revolution!

BLACKS PICKET WILKINS HOME

NEW YORK -- About 20 young revolutionary Black people posted themselves as pickets in front of the home of so-called Negro Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP.

"We don't believe he represents the causes or aspirations of Black people anymore," said Joyce Kennedy, who was instrumental in organizing the two-hour demonstration yesterday (September 22).

She said Wilkins recently wrote a column in which he said Democratic convention in Chicago were "itinerant professional agitators."

Wilkins' flunky told the group of Black demonstrators that he was not at home in one of the futile efforts to have the crowd to disperse.

Beginning in the next issue of the BLACK PANTHER NEWS - PAPER, staff writer Hosea Mills will be doing a column, entitled: "Revolutionary Opinions." This column is designed to let all Black brothers and sisters within the Black Liberation movement voice their criticisms, comments, compliments, and so forth, pertaining to the Black Revolution happening NOW -- in this racist country and throughout the world. All correspondence should be addressed to:

CENTRAL H Q
BLACK PANTHER PARTY



Unite or Perish

Early Tuesday morning after camping out in the University of Illinois' student union for 12 hours 270 black brothers and sisters were stampeded by the pigs, arrested and jailed on charges of 'mob action'.

After presenting a list of demands to the chancellor Monday night and giving him til 1:00 a.m. Tuesday to reply, the brothers and sisters with the help of the Champaign-Urbana community blacks, proceeded to do their thing in response to the University's obvious summary dismissal of the black students' demands. No action taken inside the union were taken which did not represent the feelings of all blacks involved and attempts by the university administration to single-out brothers from the community as perpetrators of 'property destruction' are viewed as further attempts by honkies to divide blacks from each other.

The meeting of about 150 black students at Illinois Street Residence Hall who were recently admitted to the university under project '500' was held to protest the bad housing assignments given to many of the brothers and sisters in the project. The BSA executive, meeting in its office to plan a strategy regarding these same demands, broke up quickly to attend this meeting which had broken up by then. On walking to the ISR meeting we intercepted the brothers and sisters leaving the meeting and held a rally on the front steps of the residence hall. BSA then moved the rally by then numbering 300-400 to the south patio of the union and sent representatives to contact the chancellor. The chancellor was 'out-of-town' and/or 'unavailable' which ever you choose to believe; at any rate he did not appear, even when presented with the one o'clock time limit and even though the administrative underlings which did appear were very much aware of the urgency of the situation and the disgust, anger, frustration and potential militancy of the brothers and sisters in the Illinois Union.

When it became obvious that Chancellor Peltason had no intention of appearing, we all decided to make it an over-night thing and to stay there as long as was necessary to make the entire university comprehend the immediacy of the problems they faced. However, at approximately 3:30 a.m. when most of the brothers and sisters were sleeping in the blockaded south lounge, the pigs made their move. Called upon by the university administration to handle black people in the usual manner -- the only manner in which honkies know how to deal with blacks -- the pigs pushed, knocked down, shoved and dragged us into line to await the police vans. With no statement of arrest by any arresting officer (much less a warrant) 260 brothers and sisters were herded into cars and trucks and taken to Urbana and Champaign County jails. 105 sisters were herded into a cell 15' x 20' where they awaited sleeping almost on top of one another til 9:00 a.m. when arraignment began. Charges of mob action were brought against all 260 with the exception of BSA president Dave Addison and Steve Jackson (member of Champaign-Urbana community organization S.O.U.L) who were also charged with inciting to riot and disorderly conduct.

Legal assistance is now being sought for the 260 who were arraigned with bond set at $500 each. None of the project '500' students arrested have been prohibited from registering and only a few have been removed from school by their parents.

The risks that the brothers and sisters took in involving themselves in the confrontation were great when one thinks of the powers held by this, or any multi-million dollar university institution. Yet the experiences gotten from such actions were invaluable in that they (1) brought to light the discontent and refusal by blacks to accept a token pitance from a society which has 400 years worth of debt to pay to black people in this country; (2) this experience brought unity to not only campus blacks, but also to all blacks residing in Champaign-Urbana -- students and community alike who in the past have been thrown brother against brother by this white society whose prime method of rule over the world has always been divide and rule; (3) finally, it exposed the University of Illinois' racist complicity with the systems oppressive forces.

For those who say that the blacks in Project '500' should be thankful for such an opportunity and should be grateful for their 'benefactors' benevolence, we say that their is no such thing as a white benefactor, because blacks have built white universities from their blood, taxes and sweat for 400 years without benefit.

A Black Woman's Thoughts

By Gloria Bartholomew

What is a Black woman's chief function, if it is not to live for her man.

The black women must drop the white ways of trying to be equal to the Black man. The woman's place is to stand behind the Black man, so in the event he should start to fall she is there to hold him up with her strength. To me that struggle is like a battery recharge. When a car battery is low you usually get it recharged in order to keep it from dying out completely.

We Black women today must serve as an inspirational booster to our Black men.

Not only do we have to stand behind our men, but we have to stand beside them, steadfast and strong, to give encouraging words and let our Black men know that we have complete faith in them; that they will achieve the battle or regain our true identity as Black men and women, who are very damn proud of our race.

The Black woman today has got to stop and take inventory of herself, because there is a lot that has to be changed and corrected.

No one can do this for you, you have to do this for yourself. In case it is not clear just what I mean I will list a few examples.

(1) Find out who you are

(2) Rid yourself of the inferiority complex about being black

a. Hair
b. Skin Color
c. Inferior

(3) Stop playing the role of a man, and take your place beside your man as a BEAUTIFUL BLACK WOMAN.

(4) Smile when you pass a brother instead of turning your nose up.

Believe it or not, we play a big part in the struggle.

I am not in anyway trying to point a finger at you, or talk about you, because I cannot. That would be like trying to convince a new born baby that he or she doesn't need milk.

My mind is constantly turning, wondering why I took so long to wake up. I am looking forward to the day when I will truly be a BEAUTIFUL BLACK WOMAN.

EAST PALO ALTO WANTS FREEDOM

"We want freedom. We want the power to determine the destiny of our Black community" quoted from the Black Panther Party platform.

(East Palo Alto) -- The Black people of (Nairobi) East Palo Alto, California, have begun to relate in a positive manner to the need for self-determination. They have begun to move in a political fashion to take control of the institutions that are supposed to serve them. While a revolutionary consciousness has long been apparent in that community, it has become evident in recent weeks that they are escalating the struggle! They have demanded control of their educational institutions and changed the name of their city. All in less than a week! No longer will the youth of NAIROBI, California, tolerate racists in the classroom. No longer will the beautiful Black people of that community allow community to be considered a mere suburb of honkyville. They have said to the world that they are not apart of the racist system that exists across the freeway from them. The racist separated the community. The Black people dig it!

We, the members of the Black Panther Party and the revolutionary people of the whole world, salute them for gains and encourage them to continue in their just struggle.

As long as people are oppressed anywhere, revolutionaries must struggle everywhere.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The causeality of social revolution lies in mass social unrest, which can come about from the suppression of basic human wants and needs. If ever the basic laws of action, reaction, and interaction, applies to a social phenomenon it applies to the black-white situation that exist in America.

The action was the enslavement of our forefathers, here in what was then known as the United States, the reaction was the insurrection by the Blacks against the whites, today it's the same concept, but with different people. The interaction the coming together of the Black masses in the world to unite against one common enemy white imperialism. It is pass time for all segments and class structures of the Black community in America to unite against one common enemy white racism. It is white racism that must be destroyed and it must be destroyed in its entirety, before it consumes all of us in our entirety. The BLACK PANTHER PARTY is a means to a just end, and freedom for the Black man for it confronts the white man with what he can relate to best power. In order to use this power constructively blacks must learn to identify with Blacks no matter what their social station is in life, be they doctors, lawyers of in the United States Senate eventually they will have to realize that, that the Black man is being beaten, kicked, stomped, and maced by the local, gestapo is his brother because it is only through unification, that we shall overcome the subhuman conditions we are subjected to by the white superimist.

The Black Revolutionary Woman

By Linda Greene

There is a phenomenon that is beginning to evolve out of many other phenomenon. That phenomenon is the revolutionary Black woman. She is a new, different creature, different from all women who have walked the face of the earth. She is a new evolvement from the Mother of Mankind, the Black Woman. She is a change; she is inherently revolutionary.

This woman is, and must be, a Black man's everything. She is a worker. She is a mother. She is a companion, intellectual, spiritual, mental, and physical. She is what her man, and what her people need her to be, when they need her. She is the strength of the struggle.

She is a worker for Black Liberation. It is her goal. Within this goal lies the fulfilling of Black man in every way that they must be fulfilled in order to live and fight. If she is not for Black liberation, she will distract him, she will inactivize herself and the people around her, her acquaintances, and her offspring. She must be committed and dedicated, because the revolution will be lost without her.

She will, and does fulfill the needs of her Black man when they are made known to her, and when they are not evident, she will and does seek them out. Her hangups about being used, being taken advantage of, or cut out of her man's life, must vanish, have vanished as did straight hair and bleaching cream did in her life when she became truly black and revolutionary. They are the hangups of the past, like hot combs and Artra and they must and are left in the past. If she is for real, she will know that she will never want for a man to love, to take care of, if she is dedicated to the revolutionary and those who believe in Black Liberation.

In her work, she does not distract the men with whom she works when it is the time for work. This will be most of the time, and she must be patient and wait for those other times, when time is precious, and moments sweeter because there are so few of them, and because there is so little time left for them. She is everything, because she is and must be the reservoir of life for Black brothers who fight and live and die in these desert sands of life as we know it now. She must be his other world, total and complete.

She is militant, revolutionary, committed, strong, and warm, feminine, loving, and kind. These qualities are not the antithesis of each other; they must all be her simultaneously.

She must be able, and ready to live with the knowledge that she will bear the honor of the death of her revolutionary brother, husband, lover, friend, and son. She must be strong and know that when this happens, she must put herself to the task and honor of inspiring, comforting, and loving another Black man, because true, revolutionary Black women are scarce, more scarce than freedom!

Black Panther Book Review

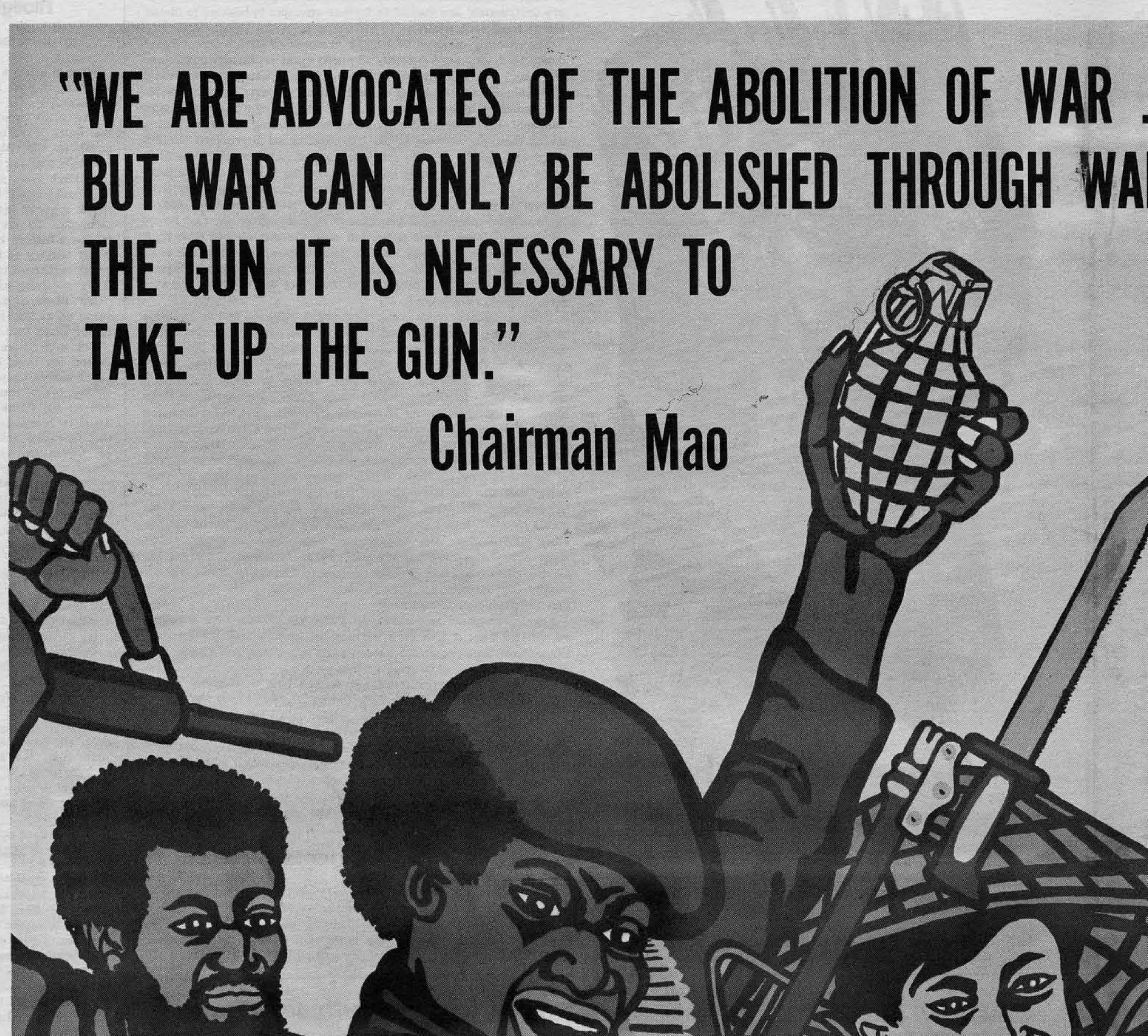
Brother Sirhan And The Pig Kennedy

The first book on Arab Brother Sirhan Bishara Sirhan and the factors which led him to shoot the pig Robert Kennedy, will be published soon, and it is bound to create a storm of controversy.

Dr. M. T. Mehdi, Secretary-General of The Action Committee on American-Arab Relations, announced the publication of his new book KENNEDY AND SIRHAN . . . Why? It will be published by New World Press in New York and will be released from Los Angeles. The book deals with the psycho-social and political forces which led Arab Brother Sirhan Bishara Sirhan of Jerusalem, Palestine to shoot the pig Robert F. Kennedy on June 5, 1968.

As Sirhan will be tried in two courts - the court of law and the court of public opinion, the author maintains that the accused will not receive a fair trial in the court of law unless, in the court of public opinion, he receives a fair verdict by the American people. He maintains that the prospective jurors, "whoever they are and whoever they might be, are already prejudiced in favor of Robert Kennedy" about whose wife and family they are aware, whereas the same jurors are " uninformed about Sirhan, his life and the circum-

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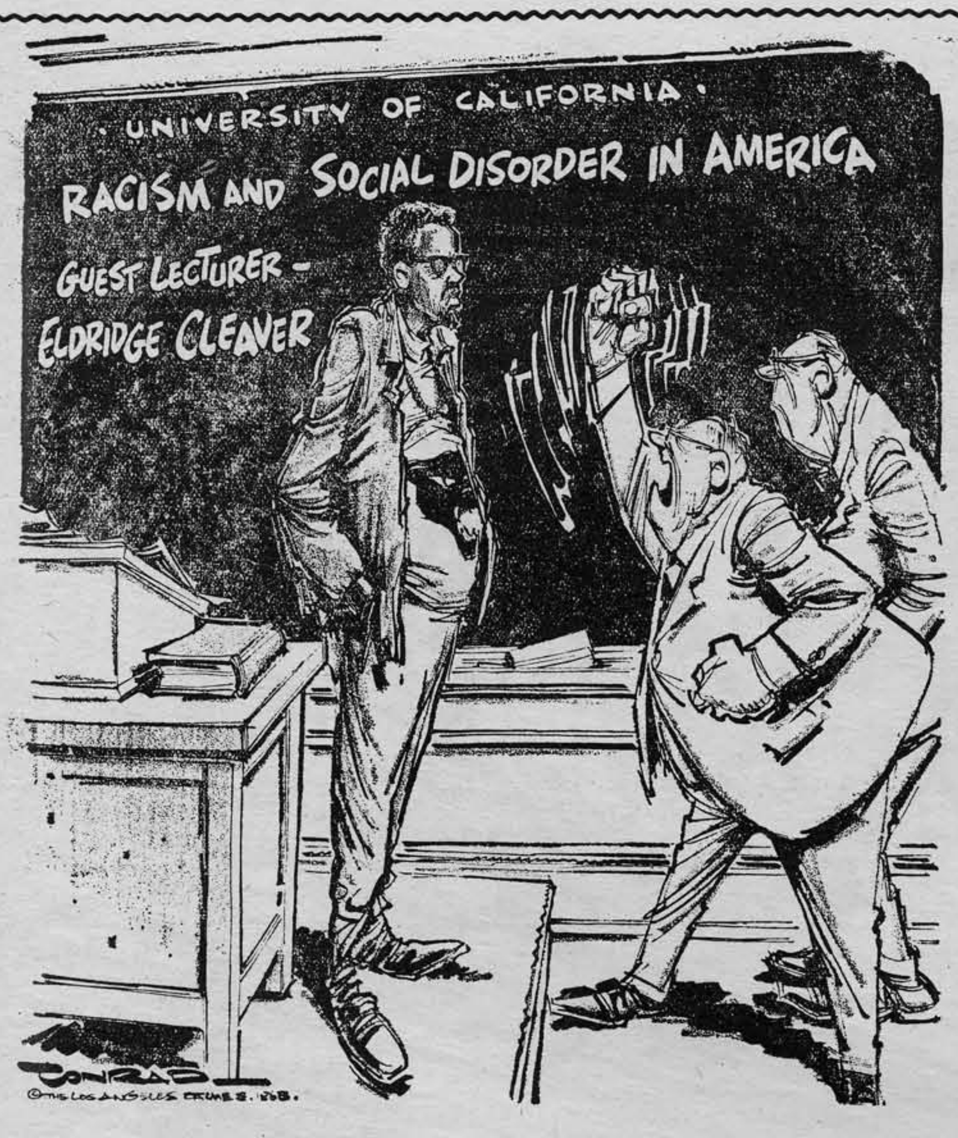

"WE ARE ADVOCATES OF THE ABOLITION OF WAR .
BUT WAR CAN ONLY BE ABOLISHED THROUGH WA
THE GUN IT IS NECESSARY TO
TAKE UP THE GUN."
Chairman Mao
EMORY

AR . . . WE DO NOT WANT WAR;

WAR AND IN ORDER TO GET RID OF



THIS DRAWING IS NOW BEING USED IN POSTER FORM BY THE BLACK DRAFT COUNSELLING UNION, 1373 PAGE ST., SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. PHONE 863-8786



"We don't want to hear it like it is! . . . We want to hear it like we say it is!!"

Continued from Pge. 6, Col. 1

INFORMATION

CLEAVER: Let me ask you a question. Are you a white man or a black man?

QUESTION: I'm a white man, sir.

CLEAVER: I thought so. Let me tell you this. You can count off your statistics about everything that you control. And if you had it sewed up tight, then you shouldn't be concerned about what black people can do in this country. But we know that with all of your numbers and with all of your materials and superiorities, with all these things that you have going for you, you're in big trouble all over the planet earth. You dig it? We know that, and we don't look upon this situation as being just something confined to the geographical boundaries of the United States or the North American continent. We see this as a world-wide contest, and in this world-wide contest, you are in very much of a minority, and we are with the majority. So you don't have 20 million black people to deal with, you have 700 million Chinese, 300 million Africans, and unnumbered billions, and millions and millions, and millions, and millions of mad black, brown, red, and yellow people to deal with. And you know that.

We don't care about your atomic bombs. We don't care about your tanks, your guns and how many guns you have. Because when the push comes to the shove, we would do the same thing that the Viet Cong is doing in Vietnam. We will lay and wait, and we will take your guns from you, and we will use your guns against you. Your plants and your factories are right here in our neighborhood. You put them there because you didn't want them in your own neighborhood, because they give out their smoke and those fowl smells. These resources are here and we will move against them and disrupt the economy of this country and force you to destroy all of your liberties and all the beautiful things that you love.

In order to suppress the 20 million black people in this country, you are going to have to destroy this country, and we say that if we can't have freedom here, then let us be destroyed because you don't deserve it. If we can't be free, you don't deserve to even talk of freedom, and your numbers and all that. You're moving in a fog, and there ain't nobody digging it but you.

QUESTION: I'd just like to make one more point. You ask these people to kill and die because the white people in the United States are trying to suppress the black people. I don't think that's true. They may be trying to suppress you, but they're not trying to suppress black people. That's another thing.

What percentage of the Negro population of these millions of people that you are talking about are sympathetic to your cause?

CLEAVER: I think they're all sympathetic.

QUESTION: It seems to me that before you can have people take other lives and be willing to give up theirs, you're going to have to at least come up with a logical, viable cause for them to die and kill.

CLEAVER: I think that we already have that cause.

QUESTION: How much of the so-called racial disorders is actually racial and how much of it, in your estimation, is economic?

CLEAVER: The philosophy of white supremacy (the whole concept of all non-white people being inferior to and servants of white people) is something that developed after whites came out of Europe and began to travel around the world and to find all these people who didn't have the weapons that they had and who they were able to . . .

QUESTION: They have technological superiority . . .

CLEAVER: They had a type of unethical savagery. For instance, when the white man came to America and encountered the Indian, the red man tried to help him to survive. You know, they teach you that in school: The settlers were starving and the red men helped them. Well, it was just a difference in the type of background from which the people came: Backgrounds that enabled the whites to prey on their fellow man.

It's very important that people understand that there is a distinction between the economics of the situation and the racism of the situation. Historically, we could say that economics were primary and that the racist philosophy that was developed later on was done to to justify the whole process of exploitation of the non-white people. As the Europeans began to colonize them in Asia and Africa, Latin America, and so forth, they developed this philosophy to justify what they were doing to these people, only after they started doing it. Now, everything about this country has been permeated by this philosophy in order to justify it. When people encounter this, they encounter a mixture of economic exploitation and racism. Economics and racism go hand-in-hand. People who confront this situation daily, and who haven't had time to do elaborate studies of the situation, don't have time to distinguish between the economics and the racism.

CONT'D. NEXT COL.

QUESTION: Mr. Cleaver, if you're so unahppy with America, or if this nation is so unsatisfactory, why don't you go back to Africa?

CLEAVER: I think that after we send you back to Europe, we might go back to Africa.

QUESTION: The crime rate amongst the Negro is the highest as far as the United States is concerned, and I say that the black people are committing genocide against the white people.

CLEAVER: You can say that, if you want to. But I say that the crime rate, or what you call the crime rate, is not nearly high enough. Black people are put into a position where they either have to go out and beg you white people for things to survive, or they have to go out and take it. So I say they're not able to get it in any other way, that they should push the crime rate to high heavens and just take it all -- everything you've got. You don't deserve it, because you have an anti-human attitude toward other people.

QUESTION: I say, sir, that if anyone wants to work they can work.

CLEAVER: Do you know there are millions and millions of people in this country who want to work and who can't find jobs?

QUESTION: There are plenty of jobs available.

CLEAVER: Well, why don't you go out to one of the unemployment offices and tell those people who are standing in those lines that there are plenty of jobs available? Why don't you do that?

QUESTION: Well, the jobs are available, but they cannot guarantee help. And I think your violence polarizes the situation. You're not bringing the white people and black people together.

CLEAVER: We want to bring people together who have their heads together. It wouldn't be any good to bring people together who have their heads so untogether, you know.

QUESTION: Mr. Cleaver, does the Black Panther Party accept or welcome the help of white people?

CLEAVER: Yes, we work with white people all the time. We have good relations with a lot of white people. We have a coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party which, as I said earlier, is composed of white people. We work with different groups on the campuses, and with white people who have had a chance to see us in action and who know what we've involved in and what our aims are.

This is distinguished from the racists in the power structure who want to keep people divided. They don't want to see white people and black people work together on anything that seriously contests the STATUS QUO. They're the ones who spread racism through their control of the mass media; they try to spread the idea that the Black Panther Party is some type of irresponsible gang of hoodlums, whose only ambition is to go out and kill and murder and invade the suburbs and all that magic. But the white people here in this area work with us, and we do a very good job, and there's no problem in that area.

Our problem comes from the racists who fear the development on a national scale of a working coalition between black people and white people who want to move to change this country. This is what they fear and this is why they move to suppress all tendencies and all manifestations of political expression that are moving in that direction. Any white person with any sense who wants to do something to bring about a better world, has never had a hard time talking to black people or relating to black people because black people have been so down on hatred, they have been so much the victims of racism and racial hatred that it's almost impossible for a black person to really become a racist as white people are. This is not one of our problems.

QUESTION: Is it possible then that the white and black can live together?

CLEAVER: If you're speaking in ultimate terms as to whether it will be ultimately possible for white people and black people to live together, I think it will be up to white people. Black people are willing to live side-by-side with other people. But the question is this, how are we to move and survive against a hostile population that on the one hand sends in a few of its numbers to talk non-violence to us, to talk brotherhood to us, and to talk about living together, while on the other hand the very working and functioning of this system is daily grinding black people down and keeping them down? While other people's standard of living is going up, ours is falling or standing still. It's very difficult for us to be concerned about brotherhood when we see the operation of this country destroying us.

QUESTION: What do you mean when you talk about black? Is this a descendent from Africa, or is it a Negro, or is it everyone that is non-white?

CLEAVER: You know the saying: if you have one drop of black blood in you, you're not white. You know how white people run around saying that. Well, they were classifying the various people as not belonging to their superior group. But we have people in our group who run from those who can pass for white, you know, like Adam Clayton Powell, who could very well be a white man, or from Senator Brooks on down to brothers and sisters who are pure black and who have never had their blood lines corrupted. We all are the descendents of the people who were brought here from the motherland and fatherland of Africa.

QUESTION: Would you include some like a Mexican-American or an Indian as black? You say black is a descendent from Africa.

CLEAVER: Yes, we do include that as a descendent of Africa because Africa is the home of the black man. The Mexican people refer to themselves as brown people, and I've heard Indian people refer to themselves as the red man.

QUESTION: You use the simile, then, about your brothers in China. Yet, they're not black.

CLEAVER: I didn't say my black brothers in China; I said my brothers in China. They're my yellow brothers if you want me to be specific.

QUESTION: If the Black Panther Party was to decide to forego the idea of defensive measures, do you think there would be more acceptance of the party?

CLEAVER: Yes, I think that a lot of people would see that as a good sign, but I think there actually would be a very great disservice to mankind, for if we abandoned our position of calling for a cessation of the brutality and terror of black people, then we would, in effect, be endorsing evil. And we say that it is the duty of people to stand up and to impeccably oppose all manifestations of inhuman behavior.



CONT'D. FROM PAGE 11 COL. 5

Black Panther Book Review

"if Sirhan was unable to get to his target, he would try the heir apparent: Robert Kennedy held that title".

The author denies any assertion or insinuation that Sirhan was insane. "Sirhan is as insane as the man who decided to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima: both took political action, one in the name of organized American society; the other implemented his private decision privately."

"Sirhan's act is illegal; Kennedy's plan to send fifty jets to Israel so that the Israelis might be able to take more of Sirhan's land and kill more of Sirhan's people, was immoral."

Was Sirhan's act also immoral in addition to being illegal? The author maintains that Sirhan's decision against Kennedy was as immoral as (or indeed less immoral than) Truman's decision against the people of Hiroshima. "However, if Truman's decision must be examined in the light of the circumstances (the saving of American lives, etc.), then Sirhan's decision also should be examined in the light of the circumstances (the saving of Arab lives from destruction by those fifty jets Kennedy was offering to Israel.)

The author anticipates the objection which will be raised that Kennedy might not have sent those jets to Israel and that his offer was only campaign oratory. He explains that Sirhan's decision was a kind of "preventive war". He says that on June 5, 1967, Israel engaged in a preventive war, whereas on June 5, 1968, Sirhan invoked the same principle of preventive war.

If "preventive wars" should be condemned and should not be offered as a defense or even explanation, the author suggests that the Israel "preventive war" of June 1967 should also be condemned. However, Robert Kennedy himself had defended the Israeli attack on Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Iraq as a preventive war. Was Kennedy not morally wrong in defense of Israeli "preventive war"?

The book contains a facinating dialogue between Abba Eban and Sirhan Sirhan, in which each will present the classical position of the Zionists and Palestinian Arabs in clear and simple language.

It suggests that Robert Kennedy and other American politicians stances which made him a refugee, destroyed his life and forced him to do what he did."

The book asserts that "only if the American people and the prospective jurors become as informed about Sirhan and his circumstances as they know about Kennedy and his life, will they be equally prejudiced - or equally impartial - and only then will Sirhan receive a fair trial."

The author deals with the significance of "June 5th" which was inscribed in Sirhan's notebook as the date by which "Robert Kennedy must die". He maintains that the Israeli surprise attack on the Arab countries on June 5, 1967 and the Israeli military success against Sirhan's people -- a military victory which was achieved with President Johnson endorsement and Robert Kennedy support -- was a factor in Sirhan's decision.

Another factor was Johnson's total capitulation to the Israeli demand and the fact that Kennedy, in his bid for the "Jewish vote," had out-done even Senator Javits in support of Israel. According to the book, if Johnson or Kennedy, as politicians, "had the choice between having 50,000 Arabs die in lieu of receiving 50,000 Jewish votes, they would not hesitate for a moment and would sacrifice Arab human lives for Jewish votes." Sirhan despised Johnson and Johnson was the real target for Sirhan, according to the author. However, who support Zionism do so because of the "Jewish vote". According to the author "if, in America, there were five-million Arabs instead of Zionist Jews, then every politician, including the late Senator Kennedy, would be praising Arab nationalism and learn to sing in Arabic. In that case, the accused assassin of Robert Kennedy might not have been a Sirhan Sirhan but rather a man by the name of Abba Eban."

The legal, political and moral questions raised in KENNEDY AND SIRHAN . . .Why? should be examined by everyone who followed the events of June 5, 1967 and June 5, 1968.

The book is original paperbound and is priced at 95¢. It is dedicated to Senator Edward Kennedy, and the foreword quotes from the PROPHET by Gibran "The murdered is not unaccountable for his own murder."

A storm of controversy is bound to erupt out of KENNEDY AND SIRHAN . . . Why?

A Fellow Warrior Falls

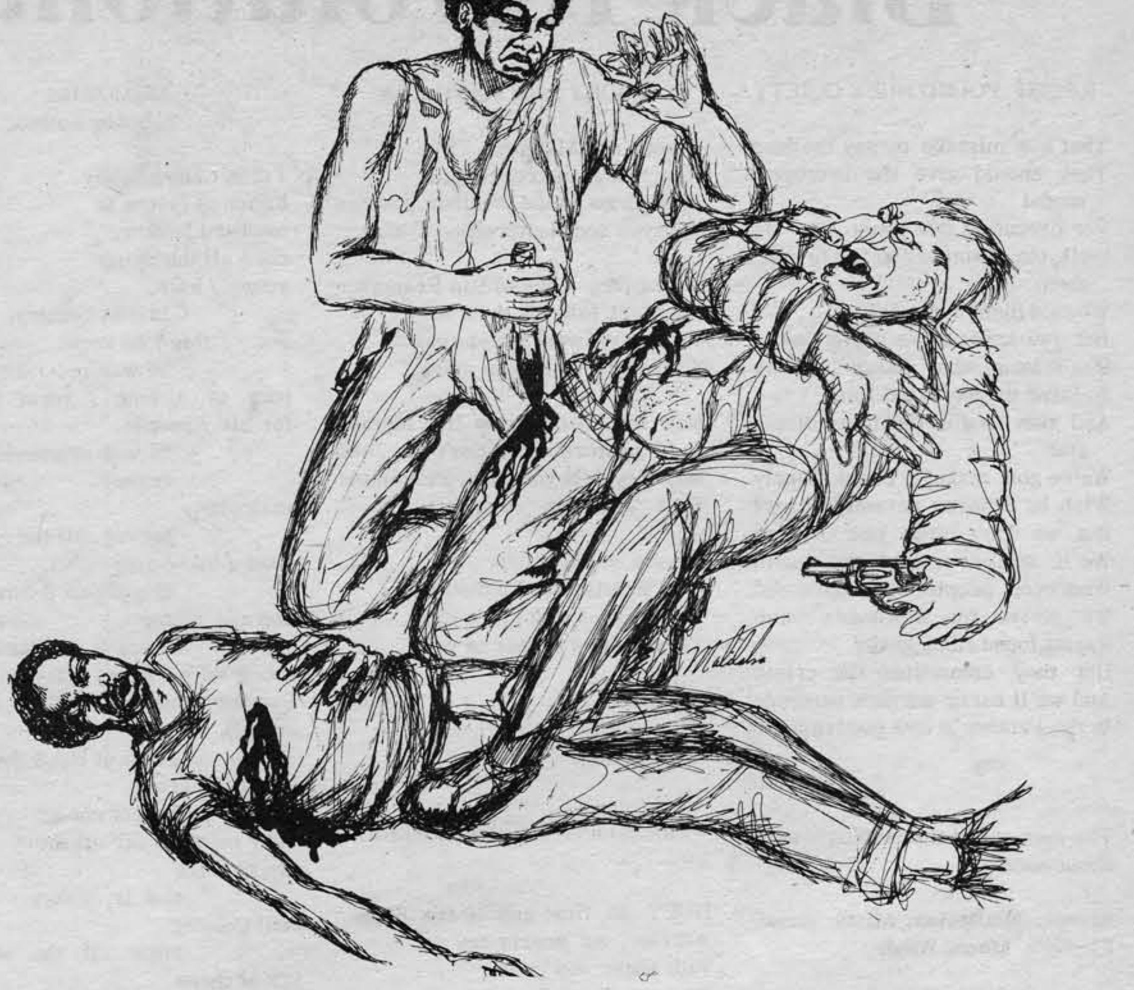
By Brother Dynamite

This is a personal tribute to a fellow warrior who has fallen in battle. Young Bobby Hutton was one of the greatest warriors that ever belonged to the black world. On April 6, 1968, Bobby Hutton was muredred by the Oakland police department. Bobby was murdered as he and other members of the Black Panther Party were in the act of defending the black community and themselves against the racist Oakland pigs.

Bobby Hutton was a founding member of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, which, under the leadership of Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver, serves the real needs of the black community. He understood how politics related to black people, and he understood the need for the creation of the Black Panther Party. At the age of fifteen, Bobby understood the politics related to the gun. He put his life on the front line many times. He was one of the first black men to patrol the cops in the black community. He was with the delegation that went to Sacramento to expose and to protest to the world that the white power structure was doing to keep black people from their inalienable right to bear arms in self-defense.

Earlier this year and after his release from the Oakland jail, I asked him how he felt about the way he was brutalized by the Oakland pigs. His reply was: "Man, I believe in the philosophy of CHE. CHE SAYS: 'WHEREVER DEATH MAY SURPRISE US, IT WILL BE WELCOME, PROVIDED THAT ANOTHER HAND STRETCH OUT TO TAKE UP WEAPONS AND THAT OTHER MEN COME FORWARD TO INTONE OUR FUNERAL DIRGE WITH THE STACCATO OF MACHINE GUNS AND NEW CRIES OF BATTLE AND VICTORY.' "

I feel that it is the personal responsibility of every black man who loves his people to take up arms in defense of his people, as did Bobby James Hutton. Then, this beautiful black brother will not have fallen in vain.



The BLACK PANTHER PARTY of San Francisco, California, no longer relates to the mis-named "Fillmore Street" as such, but now refers to it as it righteously functions: "PANTHER AVENUE!"

The all new "PANTHER AVENUE" is now the boulevard of the brave, revolutionary brothers and sisters who intend to fight as blacks -- making sure that the white man ends his robbery of the black communities, putting an end to the police pigish brutality and the outright murder of black people, and seeing that all the people of the black community get decent housing -- fit for shelter of "human beings!"

"PANTHER AVENUE" is "PANTHER AVENUE" because all the members of San Francisco's BLACK PANTHER PARTY named it so. "PANTHER AVENUE" is "PANTHER AVENUE" because it IS black, and the red-necked president, Charles Fillmore (who gets the blame for the stupidity of a "Fillmore Street"), was nothing more than a white racist who exploited black people.

So, BE IT KNOWN WORLDWIDE, as of this publication of the BLACK PANTHER NEWS, that "PANTHER AVENUE" is "PANTHER AVENUE!" -- located between Webster and Steiner Streets.

(Editor's note: It has been brought to my attention that name changes have been suggested and are also being considered for "Webster" and "Steiner" streets!)



THIS DRAWING DONE BY THE MINISTER OF CULTURE (REVOLUTIONARY ARTIST), EMORY, WAS MADE INTO A POSTER BY THE CUBAN PEOPLE AND SENT THROUGHOUT THE THIRD WORLD – AFRICA, ASIA, LATIN AMERICA, AND CHINA – WITH A CAPTION READING, "SOLIDARITY WITH THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE."

Black Revolutionary Poetry

RACIST FOUND HUEY GUILTY

That's a mistake to say the least
They should give the brother a medal
For executing that beast
Well the Panthers tried to warn them
We told them everyday
But you know those racist devils
Don't hear what Black folk say
So know the sky's the limit
And that means the most distant star
We're gon' make J. Frank Cokely
Wish he'd never passed the bar!
But we don't mean just Oakland
We'll strike around the earth
Wherever people are oppressed
We strive for freedom's birth
Racist found Huey guilty
But they committed the crime
And we'll carry out their sentence
In the Panther's own good time!

-- J. White

The men of old times liked to write about nature.

Rivers. Mountains. Mists. Snow. Flowers. Moon. Wind.

We must arm the poetry of our days with steel,

And our poets
Must learn to fight battles.

-- Ho Chi Minh

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Our task is indeed a grave one
We realize for us, time has stopped
For others have been here
And tried to spread the word
The prophets have spoken
Malcolm told us what to do
He lived a revolutionaries life
Then was given a warriors death
He like Jesus was betrayed by Judas
This sent steel ripping through his heart
Nat Turner, Marcus Garvey, even Martin Luther King
Did not their work mean a thing
The Vanguard knows the answer
We'll show the people the way
Then the voice of dissention will grow
From a fierce threat to a deadly blow
Then the whole world will know
The cry for freedom shall be heard
Men shall be men and Black men shall be black
No more living on the other side of the track
No more shucking
And no more jive
If you ain't on your jobs
You might not survive
So now it's time for all of us to get ourselves together
To be prepared to fight in all types of weather
Huey must be free
What's that mean to you
Does it make you feel Black and Blue
Malcolm's dead but his spirit is still in our souls
Let us be like Eldridge
And all through life profess our goals
Black is beautiful
Little Bobby, Bobby, Bobby, Bobby,
Little Bobby Hutton was Black
Big Bobby, Big Bobby, Big Bobby Seale
Big Bobby shall not be killed
Big in soul
Like a man possessed, he travels days without rest
Crying Huey must be free
Still the Negroes don't understand
Queen Kathleen, Eldridge's wife
Their work has become their life
Shouting on the courthouse doors
Huey must be free
Off the Pigs
The sky is the limit
Glittering

-- LOTHARIO LOTHO

EMORY AND MATILABA

Emory and Matilaba
Now that's an artistic pair
they draw those Panther posters
that you see plastered everywhere.

From New York to San Francisco
we Black folk dig their art
We say we want revolution
They show us how to start.

Now they don't draw like hippies
Cute posters that can't be read
No, they tell you plain and simple
That all pigs should be dead.

Emory and Matilaba
Two artists blunt and true
if you go out and kill a pig
They'll draw a flick of you.

J. White

DEDICATION TO OUR WARRIOR . . .

HUEY oh fine and brave black warrior, our hearts cry
with anger and grief
we want you to be set free
don't worry brave black
warrior -- you will be set free
for we love you, for we
love you, oh brave black true, warrior
yes, the time has come
the time has come, for
you to be set free
we will get some satisfaction
and some soul black
reaction
we love you, we love
you oh true black
warrior
warrior
all black people cry for
you to be set free
free HUEY, free HUEY, free
HUEY, cry the hearts of all
black people, for we love you
oh true brave black warrior
for we love you
so sleep tight brave warrior
you will be set free from
those pig mother fuckers
for they will have to face
the wrath of all black people
because you are the true
leader of all black people

-- ann lewis

Death poem (unless we wake up)

we gon
na line up
& go to those camps
just like the jews
we gonna
volun
teer our lives to
the honkey
again
we
gonna say
here we is
ready to bugaloo --
clap our hands --
or pray--
in tune to our
own blk /
deaths
yeah. con / cen / tration
USA. we yr / blk /
masses
and all u got to do
is just start
stirring
yr / vast
melting pot.
and the
main ingredient will
be our
blk / meat
yeah.

-- sonia sanchez

MEMORIAL
2. bobby hutton

i didn't know bobby
hutton in fact it is
too hard to be re
cord all the dying
young / blks.
in this country.
but this i do know
he was
part of a long / term / plan
for blk / people.
he was denmark
vessey.
malcolm.
garvey. all the
dead / blk / men
of our now / time
and ago / time.
check it out. for
bobby wd we living today.
Panther / jacket / beret
and all.
check it out & don't let
it Happen again.
we got enough
blk / martyrs for all the
yrs to come
that is, if they
Still Coming
after all the shit /
yrs of these
white / yrs goes down

-- sonia sanchez

My Son, The Dead Man

On that great day,
I was such a happy one,
For I had given birth,
To a beautiful Black son.
While he was young,
He was so innocent,
That I never thought,
My son the white man would want.
But then it happened.
On that sad day,
Those dirty pigs,
Took my son the man away.
They said he would return,
To my love and care,
Then they dressed him in that Army shit,
And cut off his natural hair.
He said he loved and missed me,
In his first letter.
And he told me not to worry,
For he knew things would get better.
The very next day,
I got a telegram,
My WHITE PIG maid,
Said bad news maam,
I said what is it,
What can it be,
She said your Black son,
You will never again see.
I said oh my God,
That was the pig's plan,
To make my son,
My son the dead man.

- Sheila (Zidisha) Waldron

SMALL COMMENT

the nature of the beast is the
man or to be more specific
the nature of the man is his
bestial nature or to
bring it to its elemental terms
the nature of nature is
the bestial survival of the
fittest the strongest the richest
or to really examine
the scene we cd say that
the nature of any beast is
bestial unnatural and natural
in its struggle for superiority
and survival but to really
be with it we will say that the man
is a natural beast bestial in
his lusts natural in his
bestiality and expanding
and growing on the national
scene to be the most
bestial and natural of
any beast. you dig?

-- sonia sanchez

SOUL ON ICE

Have you read that book by Eldridge?
They one called "Soul on Ice?"
Now, I don't dig on reading
but that book's kinda nice.

You know the brother wrote it
while they had him in the joint.
The book was wrote for black folks
but the white folks get the point.

Now all the honkies buying it
They can't keep them in the store
them devils rip 'em off the shelves
like they ain't saw books before.

But I don't believe they read it
Not from front to end
Ol whitey just puts it near his bed
and looks at it now and then.

Now these white boys got a problem
to keep them up each night.
They shit on themselves when they heard niggers could read
now we got some that can write.

-- J. White

BEING BLACK, AND WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

Black is beautiful and it's a fact well known,
You black sisters and brothers be proud and let the pride be shown
Hip the other brothers to the news and the fact,
Not only are we proud, but we're proud to be black
Tell them like it is we intend to reach the top,
There's no looking back or turning around cause we don't intend to stop
So my black brothers and my sisters too,
Let's get hip to our black history cause the facts are true
Our black men and women have done so much, and it's yet not told,
As the young society moves on, we know our leaders have grown old
But they have tried to make us what we ought to be,
Which is being No.1 receiving freedom and equality
But it's us who have to take the stand,
Stop letting the credit be given to the other man
We deserve it, let's try to get it,
It's the top we want to reach, black people, let's admit it

Camille Ozan

DRUM CALLS IN THE NITE

Blood! Blood! Hear them drum calls?
What they beating for?
Blood! Blood! Hear them sirens wail hear them pigs knocking down your do'
Stop them bloods in their facist tracks,
Stop them bloods so they won't come back
Kill them bloods with sharpened steel
Kill them bloods with guns for real
Moving through the night in bands of three's
Dying on your feet and not on your knees

Village night of Black ghetto
Black beneath Black night sky
Why so restless, why
What has stern you so

Village of the Black Cat Warrior
Clinched in sleepless watch so high
You who knows the Black Cat grows
Who will brave the jungle night
When the Black Cat crouches low.

Village night of Black ghetto
Mother of Blackness
You who beats the silent drum
What secrets you most hold
Your children are, growing proud
Like might oak
Growing slow.

Village of the Black Cat Warrior
Bear your fangs of cold blue steel
Let them know you do not tremble
And if you must, you must kill
Though your heart is truly peaceful
If you must, you must kill.

By Calvin Scott

FLASH FOR FREEDOM

BLACK REVOLUTION -- Not in single file . . .
FLASH -- Pigs hunt us down,
BLACK PANTHER PARTY --
To oppress mile by mile . . .
FLASH -- FLASH
L.A. PIGS VAMP -- Huey P. Newton teaches,
DIXIE CUPS FULL OF -- Self Defense, Self Respect,
NON - CARBONATED BLOOD -- And Self Determination . . .
FLASH -- For every receptive ear
OAKLAND PIGS -- His cry reaches
INCLINED TO LUNACY -- FLASH
ENFORCERS OF LAWS -- Three Pigs Dead
MADE BY A CIVILIZATION -- FLASH
OF MADNESS -- One Panther Shot . . .
FLASH -- FLASH
THREE PANTHERS GONE -- Many precincts offed
ECHOES OF BATTLE CRIES -- FLASH
DROWN THE SADNESS -- B.P.P.'S are Vanguards
FLASH -- America Can't be forgot . . .
IN CRYSTAL WATERS --

-- CUQUI

OF REALIZATION --
ELUSIVE GAVEIS
OF ARREST AND TRIAL
FLASH
YOU THINK YOU'RE
BIRDS THAT CAN FLY --
CAN YOU DIG,
OFF THE PIG . . .
FLASH
PANTHERS MARCH

POWER OF THE GUN

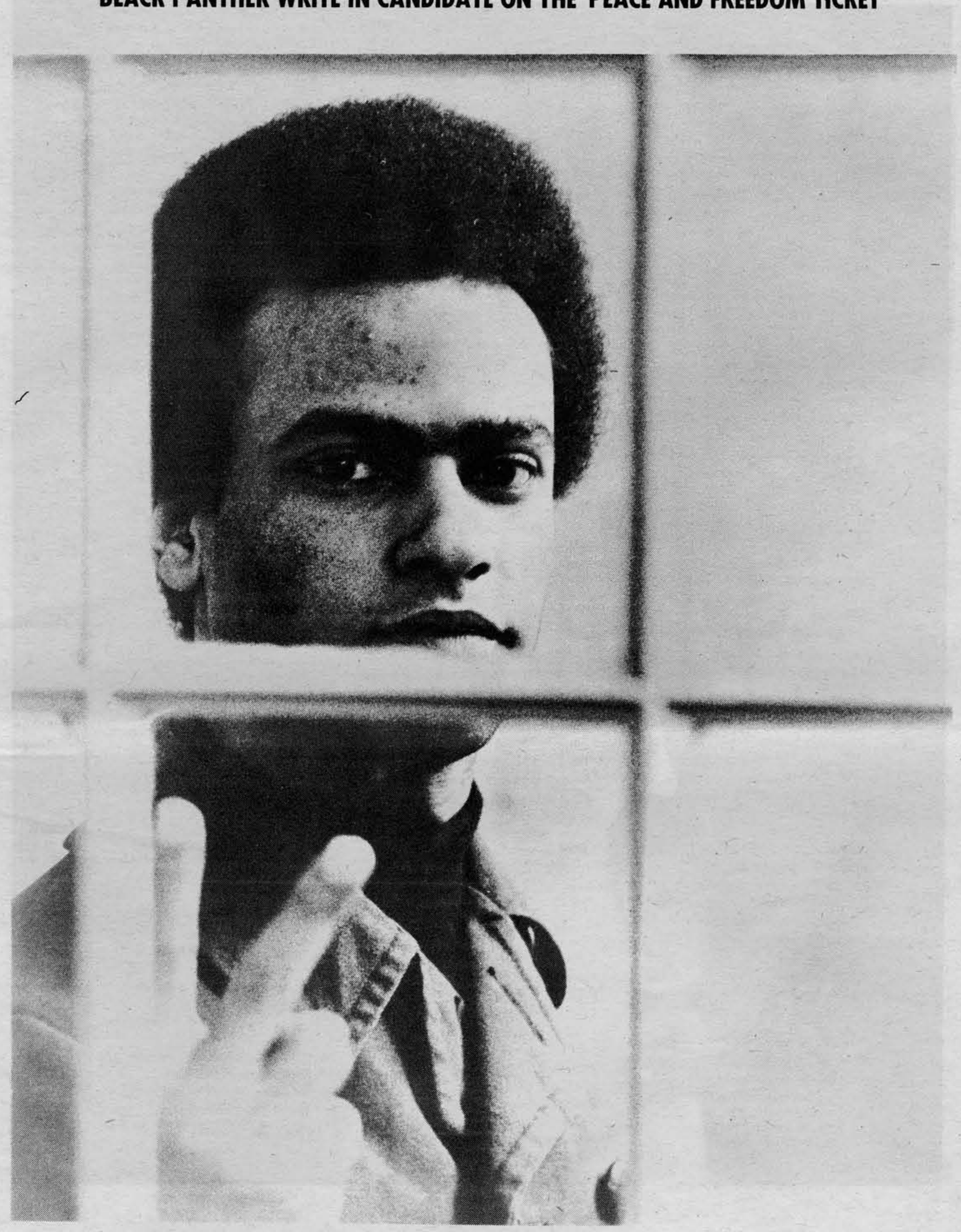
Huey & Bobby
Eldridge & Dave
Stokely & Rap
Malcolm -- in the grave
Millions of others
all over the earth
the sisters & brothers
who believe in man's worth
They make revolution
they seek a new life
they know the solution
requires civil strife
They've all seen a vision
of men truly free
and they've made the decision
that this thing WILL be
So with faith in the people
and belief in the gun
the brothers move forward
the pigs start to run

-- J. White

HUEY P NEWTON

FOR THE 17th CONGRESSIONAL DIST. ALAMEDA COUNTY

BLACK PANTHER WRITE IN CANDIDATE ON THE PEACE AND FREEDOM TICKET



In the upcoming November election the Peace and Freedom Party are running four members from the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, on the PANTHER'S HUEY P. NEWTON ten-point program. Minister of Defense, is running for Congress in the Seventeenth Congressional District. He is currently being held as a political prisoner allegedly accused of killing a policeman.

HUEY P. NEWTON has implemented a program within the Black Community that will give his constituency the right to decide their own destiny. The BLACK PANTHER PARTY'S ten-point program stems from HUEY P. NEWTON.

We realize that HUEY P. NEWTON understands the need and aspirations of the people in the Black Community. He offers something new to political arena which is revolutionary politics, which should be known as the people's revolution. To fully comprehend what HUEY P. NEWTON is doing is to understand the ten-point program. Once the community reads and comprehends the party's program, they will see the necessity of the revolution and the national liberation for oppressed people. To achieve these goals, we must have the political and military force for all oppressed people that has never existed in this country. This is why we of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY offer to the masses, HUEY P. NEWTON, a man with a revolutionary program.

PURPOSE FOR ENTERING THE POLITICAL RACE:

FIRST: To pull out of the Democratic and Republican Parties because they do not (DO NOT!) represent BLACK PEOPLE and other oppressed people in this colonized country.

SECOND: To alleviate the problems of bootlickers, which refers directly to bootlicking so-called Negro politicians.

THIRD: To enable us (the "for real" BLACK PEOPLE!) to heighten the consciousness of our BLACK brothers and sisters.

FOURTH: And as a major political objective for all black people, a BLACK PLEBISCITE a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black Colonies—in which ONLY Black Colonial subjects are allowed to participate.

FIFTH: BUT—FIRST AND FOREMOST, WE (the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, THE PEOPLE OF THE NATION, the Peace and Freedom Party and other supporters of our BLACK LIBERATION) ARE INTERESTED IN THE FREEDOM OF OUR LEADER AND FOUNDER OF THE "BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE, our MINISTER OF DEFENSE, the Honorable HUEY P. NEWTON.

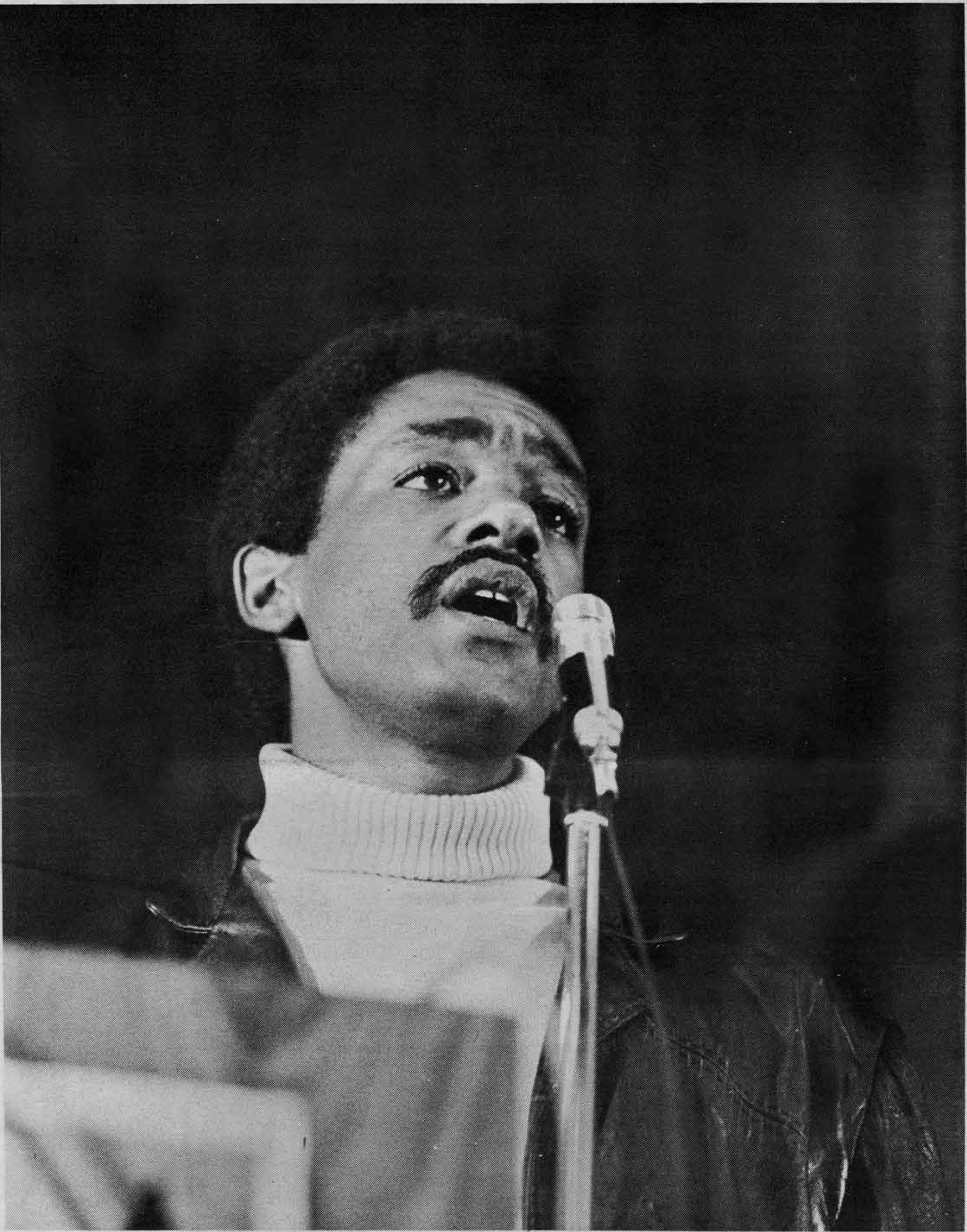
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER



FOR PRESIDENT

BLACK PANTHER CANDIDATE ON THE PEACE AND FREEDOM TICKET

BOBBY SEALE FOR STATE ASSEMBLYMAN



17TH ASSEMBLY DIST ALAMEDA COUNTY

BLACK PANTHER CANDIDATE ON THE PEACE AND FREEDOM TICKET

1968: BALLOT OR THE BULLET



KATHLEEN CLEAVER,
COMMUNICATION SECT.,
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

18th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT
S.F. PEACE & FREEDOM PARTY

SHOOT YOUR SHOT

POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes, you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probably cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls—one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 654-2003, and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time e?ds on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do no' have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.



Black Panther Party BOOK LIST

MALCOLM X	The Autobiography of Malcolm X
FANON, FRANTZ	Wretched of the Earth
NKRUMAH, KWAME	I Speak of Freedom
DAVIDSON, BASIL	The Lost Cities of Africa
APTHEKER, HERBERT	The Nat Turner Slave Revolt
Aptheker, Herbert	American Negro Slave Revolts A Documentary History of the Negro People in the U.S.
Bennett, Lerone Jr.	Before the Mayflower
Bontemps, Arna W.	American Negro Poetry--Story of the Negro
Cronin, E.D.	Black Moses (The story of Garvey and the UNIA)
DuBois, W.E.B.	Black Reconstruction in America--Souls of Black Folk The World and Africa
Davidson, Basil	Black Mother, the Years of the African Slave Trade
Fanon, Frantz	Studies in a Dying Colonialism
Franklin, John Hope	From Slavery to Freedom--Negro in the United States
Frazier, C.F.	Black Bourgeoisie
Harrington, Michael	The Other America
Garvey, Marcus	Garvey & Garveyism--The Philosophy & Opinions of Garveyism
Herskovitts, Melville J.	The Myth of the Negro Past
James, C.L.R.	A History of Negro Revolts
Janheinz, John	MUNTU: The New African Culture
Jones, LeRoi	Blues People
Lincoln, C.E.	Black Muslims in America
Malcolm X	Malcolm X Speaks
Mwmmi, Albert	The Colonizer and the Colonized
Nkrumah, Kwame	Ghana
Patterson, William L.	We Charge Genocide
Rogers, J.A.	Africa's Gift to America World's Great Men of Color; 3,000 B.C. to 1946 A.D.
Wesley, Charles H. & Woodson, Carter G	The Negro in Our History
Woodward, C. Van	The Strange Career of Jim Crow
Wright, Richard	Native Son

The Olympics

By Jay White

Bro. Harry Edwards tried hard to do what he has been trained to do. The Brother used his skill as an athlete to obtain a degree from the man; obviously he used his spare time to obtain an education. The Brother armed with the truth about this racist decadent society and a knowledge of the true history of the Black man had no difficulty in finding his role in the modern world.

The Brother began to show Black athletes just how they were being exploited by the oppressor. He showed them the power that they represented on the International level. He asked them to unify themselves and move in a political fashion to wreck the prestige of the imperialists.

Some of the Negro athletes didn't go for the truth. They thought that it was possible to compromise with the pig. The Olympic boycott was called off. They chose to wear black arm bands instead.

This attempt to cooperate with the racists was simply one more exercise in futility. The United States Olympic Committee stated that any Nigger with a black band on would be barred from the team!

Well, Bro. Edwards tried to tell them Huey tried to tell them, but Negroes don't believe nothing unless they hear it from the white man.

MINISTER OF EDUCATION RETURNS FROM CUBA

Black Panther Minister of Education, George Murray, spoke to a crowd of over 750 Panthers at the Bobby Hutton Memorial Park in West Oakland. The Minister of Education relayed the goodwill of the worldwide revolutionary movement to the Black Panthers. He stated that he and Ford of the N.Y. Panther Chapter were received with open arms by the people of Cuba during their recent trip to that country and that the Ambassadors from many centers of revolution pledged their support to the Black Liberation struggle in America. Minister Murry also stated that the Black Panther Party is recognized as the vanguard of the revolutionary political movement that seeks freedom for all in this "racist, capitalistic, neo-colonialistic country."

Minister Murry said that it was very gratifying to see that the people of Cuba were aware of the plight of Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton. He said that there were an abundance of "Free Huey" posters on display in Cuba, and that the people of Cuba share our sentiment of "The Sky is the Limit if Huey is not set free."

Black Panther Editorial Staff

POLITICAL PRISONERS
Minister of Defense
Huey P. Newton
(Oakland County Jail)

CHAIRMAN
Bobby Seale

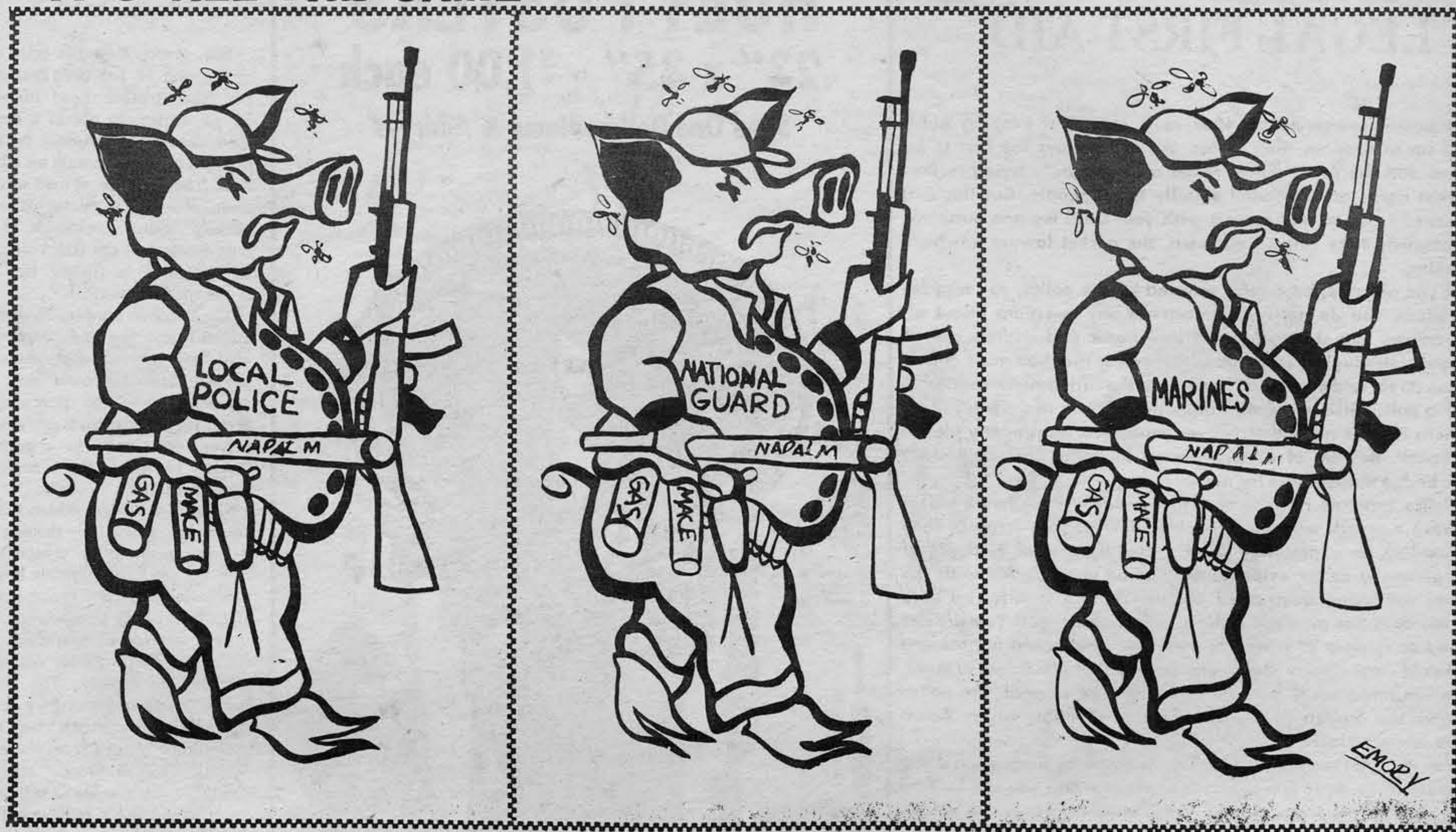
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IT'S ALL THE SAME



HUEY AND HISTORY

BY
Frank B. Jones

Although white supremist historians have attempted to establish that black people in the South were happy and contented slaves, we have historical evidence that such was not the case. As a matter of fact, there were more than 200 slave rebellions and conspiracies in the United States prior to the Civil War. The first revolt resulted in black men becoming the first permanent settlers - other than the Indians - in the United States. This slave revolt occurred in a Spanish colony in 1526. The Spaniards left the rebellious colony, returned to Haiti, and left the black men who had revolted in the United States.

Even today these revisionist historians are attempting to malign the intentions and motivations of the leaders of the black revolts. These historians and writers of historical novels are stating or implying that black men revolted because they were mentally deranged, religious fanatics, revolutionary opportunists, etc. These historians refuse to admit that many black men fought in opposition to slavery in face of almost insurmountable odds because they loved their people and sought justice and equality.

Black men possess a quality that is evidently alien to the white supremist historians. A quality that is rare in establishment oriented societies - an untiring tenacity to resist injustices. Black men cannot resolve themselves to an inferior status. True black men will fight injustice as long as it exists and will employ and and all means necessary to destroy it. It was this characteristic that prompted many black men to fight the injustices of slavery.

Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, and company all fought to end the monstrous system of de jure slavery that existed in the United States. After slavery was declared illegal, black men continued to resist the injustices of de facto slavery. Men like Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King opposed the degrading system of de facto They realized that there are two Americas - one of principle and one of practice. They were also aware that the America of principle is only a facade for the America of practice. In practice America is a materially oriented, class conscious, racist, hypocritical country; but these qualities are hidden behind the written and spoken principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Pledge of Allegiance, the Constitution, and the Lord's Prayer. America does not practice what it preaches.

Today we have another black man who has dedicated himself to the fight against injustice. A man who wants to apply the principles of America and not just preach them. A man wants the principles of America applied to all people instead of just a select few. A man who has chosen a section of the Declaration of Independence as the philosophical basis for his activities. A man who wants to make the gun subject to the people instead of making the people subject to the gun. A man who practices what he preaches. Today we have Huey P. Newton.

Huey P. Newton has chosen to join the ranks of the black freedom fighters and to continue their pressed black masses. Huey possesses characteristics that are similar to both de jure and de facto slavery freedom fighters. Of the de facto slavery freedom fighters he is more nearly aligned to Malcolm X - both decided that force is an effective means of resisting violent people and/or policemen. Huey resembles Denmark Vesey of the de jure slavery era because like Denmark, Huey realized the need for organization. Most of us are aware of the biographical facts concerning Malcolm X, so now let us review the parallels that exist between Denmark Vesey and Huey P. Newton.

Huey attended Merritt College and completed one year of law school. He could have remained in law school and upon graduation entered the world of self-deception of the black bourgeoisie. Huey could not accept that role. He could not seek personal gain while his black brothers remained oppressed. He valued freedom for his people more than he valued any personal aggrandizement. Huey realized that the laws he was studying were not applied to black people with the same equality that they are applied to whites. The laws are used to regulate white people and to restrict black people. There is no equality under the law in America. Huey organized the Black Panther Party.

Denmark Vesey purchased his freedom after winning a lottery. He accumulated money and property and gained the respect of both blacks and whites. He personally stated that he was willing to risk his personal comfort in an effort to free his black brothers. When an opportunity arose for Denmark to go to Africa, he refused it saying he wanted to stay in America and see what he could do for his fellow creatures. Denmark Vesey started an organization whose purpose was to liberate the slaves of Charleston, S.C.

Huey Newton realized that an organization can be no stronger than its members, so he shose men who were dedicated to the black liberation movement. The chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale, exemplifies the type of men that Huey wants for the Black Panther Party. Bobby has held many decent paying jobs, but he could not be bought off in his attempt to help his black brothers. Bobby joined with Huey and has remained faithful to the cause in spite of Huey's imprisonment and constant threats against Bobby's life. The threats of death have only served to strengthen Bobby's resolve.

Denmark Vesey chose Peter Poyas as his chief assistant. Peter Poyas has been descri0ed as a man with ice water in his veins - one of the coolest operators ever. When a weakling Uncle Tom exposed Vesey's plot to capture Charleston, Peter was picked up and questioned, but remained so cool that he was released. Later when more weaklings implicated him, Peter who was condemned to death tolda companion who had started to yield to pain to "Die like a man!" A word from Peter was enough; his companion ceased to complain. At his execution Peter told his fellow revolutionists when they were asked for additional information, "Do not open your lips. Die silent as you shall see me do." A cool operator indeed.

Huey realized that only activity can revolutionize a system. Talk is not enough. Huey, Bobby, and Lil' Bobby Hutton started their shotgun patrols to discourage police brutality in the ghetto. This effort was very successful in accomplishing its goal, but it turned the pent up sadism of the police department onto the Panthers. The police continued to harass Huey and the Panthers until the shooting incident that resulted in Huey's being imprisoned. Evemthe incarceration of Huey did not satisfy the police as is witnessed by the continued harassment of the Panthers.

Denmark Vesey organized his black brothers in and around the city of Charleston and was preparing to take control of the city, but an Uncle Tom house servant heard about Denmark's plan and sprad the word to the white slaveowners. Even with the knowledge of Denmark's organization, the slaveowners had a difficult time trying to determine who the leaders were. Denmark's associates were so strong that most of the information upon capture. A few who were too weak to endure the intensive interrogation finally implicated Denmark Vesey. Denmark along with 31 of his associates were tried and executed, but his organization was so strong and secretive that the slaveowners admitted that they were not sure that all members had been captured. The slaveowners also admitted that Denmark would have succeeded in taking the city if the Uncle Tom servant had not informed on him.

Gabriel Prosser fought slavery and was executed. Denmark Vesey fought slavery and was executed. Nat Turner fought slavery and was executed. In each case black people did nothing to aid the men who had fought for freedom. Marcus Garvey fought oppression and was jailed. Malcolm X fought oppression and was assassinated. Martin Luther King fought oppression and was assassinated. Black people did nothing. Huey P. Newton fought oppression and has been jailed. But Huey P. Newton can still succeed in his efforts to liberate black people if black people will give support to his efforts. He is not being tried for any crime that he has committed (there is no evidence to that effect). He is being tried for attempting to stop the criminal acts of the white racist power structure. He is being tried for seeking justice for all black people. If we allow Huey's trial to end in a conviction and then do nothing about it, we should no longer complain about our treatment in America because we deserve no more.

WARNING TO SO-CALLED "PAPER PANTHERS"

Black brothers stop vamping on the hippies. They are not your enemy. You enemy, right now, is the white racist pigs who support this corrupt system. Your enemy is the Tom nigger who reports to his white slavemaster every day. Your enemy is the fat capitalist who exploits your people daily. Your enemy is the politician who uses pretty words to deceive you. Your enemy is the racist pigs who use Nazi-type tactics and force to intimidate black expressionism. Your enemy is not the hippies. Your blind reactionary acts endanger the BLACK PANTHER PARTY members and its revolutionary movements. WE HAVE NO QUARREL WITH THE HIPPIES. LEAVE THEM ALONE. Or—the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will deal with you!

LETTER FROM A BLACK SOLDIER

Brothers and Sisters:

I just want to speak on a problem which bothers us all. The problem is your Black Brothers in the pig's armed forces. I am one of those brothers who have the misfortune of being trapped in and into Charlie's service for exploitation. I said trapped, not to make an excuse for being in the service but to clarify this inescapable, unjustifiable action of forced service.

What are the alternatives to the drafting our people into the armed forces of White America. The alternatives are, firstly, to go when drafted to avoid going to prison; secondly, to refuse the draft and face the possibility, and for the Black Man, the probability of being sent to prison; thirdly, to leave the country and the Black Movement here in America; and fourthly, to enlist.

The last point of enlisting is the point which has to be looked at and analyzed to understand its implications. When a brother enlists today, for the most part he doesn't enlist today out of love for his "Country". We Blacks don't have any power in the Machinery of this government. He doesn't enlist for any love of this country because he hates the oppression that this racist power structure imposes on our Black Communities across the nation. No, he doesn't enlist for any patriotic reason. The Black Man is forced. That's what I said. He is forced. He might as well be forced at Gunpoint.

Because the brothers are forced with the threat of imprisonment, many chose the lesser of two evils, so we think, and enlist. There are many Brothers "in" and "out" of the Child's service who said, "no one can be effective in prison." But I have come to realize, especially with Brother Huey P. Newton's experience, that the above statement is not entirely true. However, I believe one has to avoid and try to stay out of prison for as long as he possibly can so he can contribute to the masses. But, we have to keep in mind, that the pig's will try to eliminate our leaders by killing and imprisoning those with the courage to speak out for freedom, equality, and justice for the Blacks.

Brothers, there are more and more Brothers in the armed forces who are risking imprisonment by speaking out against the injustices and policies of this racist power structure. Brothers are not as out of step as I have heard spoken on the streets. We are united against our enemy-the racist pig. We will not tolerate these injustices imposed on us, our families, and our communities.

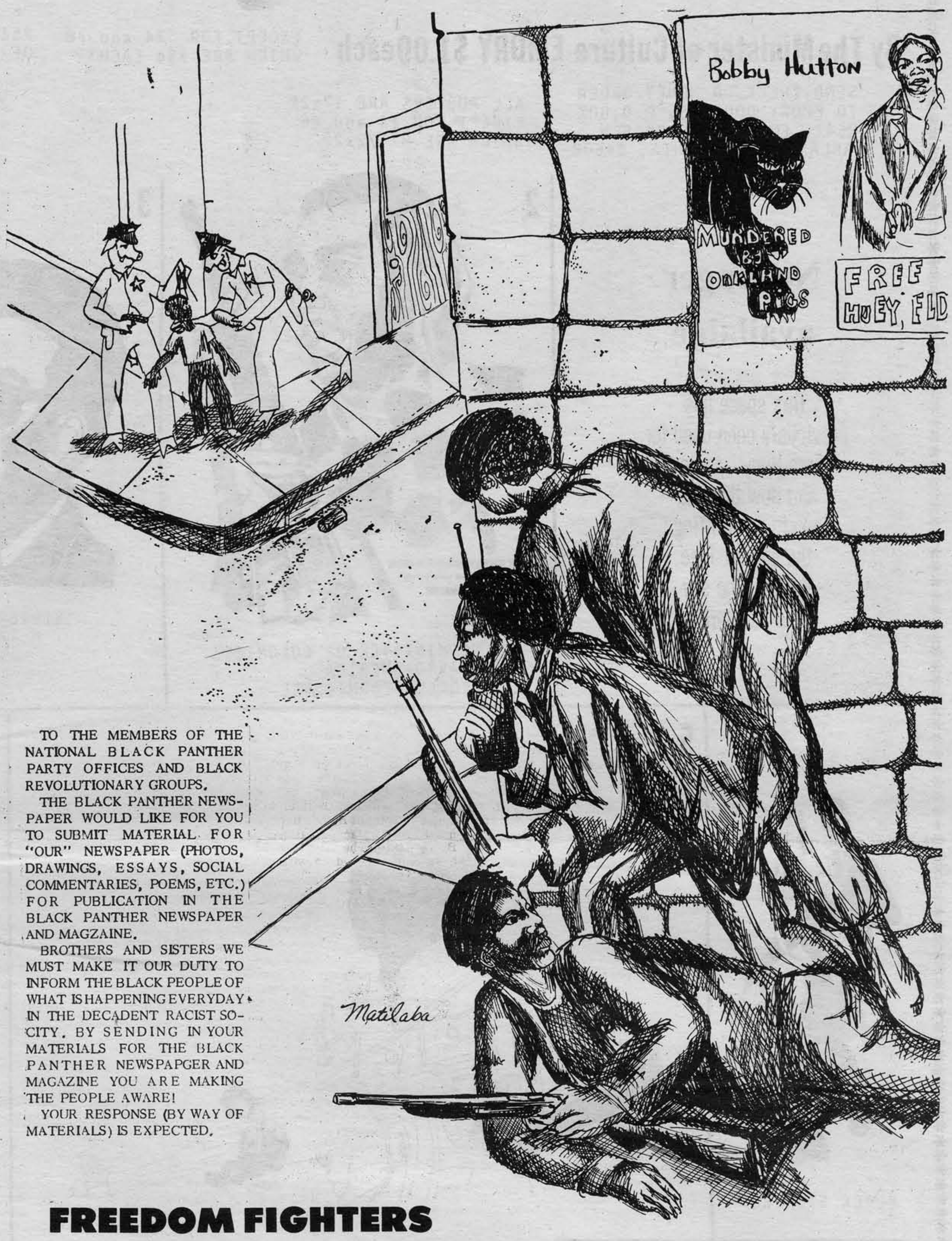
Even though we are trapped into this mad dog's racist regime, we won't sell out our brothers, in doing that we would be selling ourselves out. Brother Malcolm X once asked, "Can any man be against himself?" I hope the brothers on the "outside" and "inside" understand even if they don't agree with what I have said. We are brothers with a common cause and we will be victorious. We are keeping the faith. We asked for you to have faith in us. Those of use who share in the Movement.

I come from Chicago, Illinois. I am sorry my eyes were fully opened too late to stay out of the service, but it's not too late to act.

You can print this letter if you want. My regard to our Black Panther Party.

"POLITICAL POWER GROWS OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN."

No More Riots . . . Two's & Three's



TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL BLACK PANTHER PARTY OFFICES AND BLACK REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS.

THE BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER WOULD LIKE FOR YOU TO SUBMIT MATERIAL FOR "OUR" NEWSPAPER (PHOTOS, DRAWINGS, ESSAYS, SOCIAL COMMENTARIES, POEMS, ETC.) FOR PUBLICATION IN THE BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER AND MAGZAINE.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS WE MUST MAKE IT OUR DUTY TO INFORM THE BLACK PEOPLE OF WHAT IS HAPPENING EVERYDAY IN THE DECADENT RACIST SOCITY. BY SENDING IN YOUR MATERIALS FOR THE BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPGER AND MAGAZINE YOU ARE MAKING THE PEOPLE AWARE!

YOUR RESPONSE (BY WAY OF MATERIALS) IS EXPECTED.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY SUPPORTS YOU AND ALL YOUR EFFORTS IN YOUR FIGHT FOR THE LIBERATION OF BLACK PEOPLE. YOU ARE NOT ALONE IN YOUR FIGHT AGAINST THE RACIST DOGS AND PIGS IN AMERICA WHO HAVE OPPRESSED OUR PEOPLE FOR SO LONG. NOT ONLY DO WE HAVE 26 CHAPTERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACROSS THE COUNTRY, BUT OUR STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION IS SUPPORTED BY BLACK, BROWN, RED AND YELLOW BROTHERS AND SISTERS ALL OVER THE WORLD. ALL OF OUR BLACK BROTHERS AND SISTERS AROUND THE WORLD REALIZE THAT WE HAVE ONE COMMON ENEMY --- THIS RACIST IMPERALISTIC DOG THAT HAS BEEN DESTROYING BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT AN END TO THIS GENOCIDAL WAR THIS RACIST HONKY IS WAGING AGAINST US. AND WE WANT IT TO COME TO AN IMMEDIATE END RIGHT NOW! OUR BEAUTIFUL, RIGHTEOUS, BLACK REVOLUTIONARY, MINISTER OF DEFENSE HAS BEEN CONVICTED OF MANSLAUGHTER! THE SKY IS THE LIMIT! THE SKY IS THE LIMIT! NOT ONLY IN AMERICA BUT AROUND THE WORLD.

RECENTLY OUR MINISTER OF EDUCATION, GEORGE MURRAY, AND CAPTAIN FORD OF NEW YORK WENT TO CUBA AND THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS THERE SAID THAT THE SKY IS THE LIMIT IF THE BROTHER IS NOT SET FREE. IF OUR MINISTER OF DEFENSE, BROTHER HUEY P. NEWTON IS NOT SET FREE.

THE BROTHERS MURRAY AND FORD WERE RECEIVED AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BLACK NATION WHICH IS IMPRISONED IN AMERICA, AND THEY, THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN CUBA SAY THAT THEY WILL GIVE US ANY ASSISTANCE. THAT US IS NOT LIMITED TO WE, THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, BUT WE BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES WHO ARE FIGHTING THIS RACIST IMPERIALIST FAGGOT HONKEY. THEY REALIZE THAT WE ARE FIGHTING A POWERFUL FORCE AND THEY ADMIRE OUR COURAGE AND STRENGTH.

OSPAAAL

FREE HUEY NEWTON!

Appeal for the Freedom of Huey Newton

Shot, imprisoned and held incommunicado for over nine months, Huey Newton resists and reaffirms his resolve to fight. The founder and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense is now the center of the physical elimination plots of the U.S. imperialists and racists; the method to be followed might be either "legal" or "accidental."

No Justice whatsoever can or should be expected from imperialist "democracy." Free Huey Newton! is not an appeal for mercy or a legal recourse; it is a challenge to the death to imperialism and racism in the U.S. that becomes a thundering battle cry of the Afro-Americans and of the peoples and combatants of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who have rallied together in a historic and decisive battle. The genuine freedom of Huey Newton will be brought about as the result of the revolutionary action of the Afro-Americans and the white people who are willing to run the same risks; it will be the result of new Watts, Newarks, Detroits and Clevelands. In this endeavor they will have the support and solidarity of their revolutionary brothers of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

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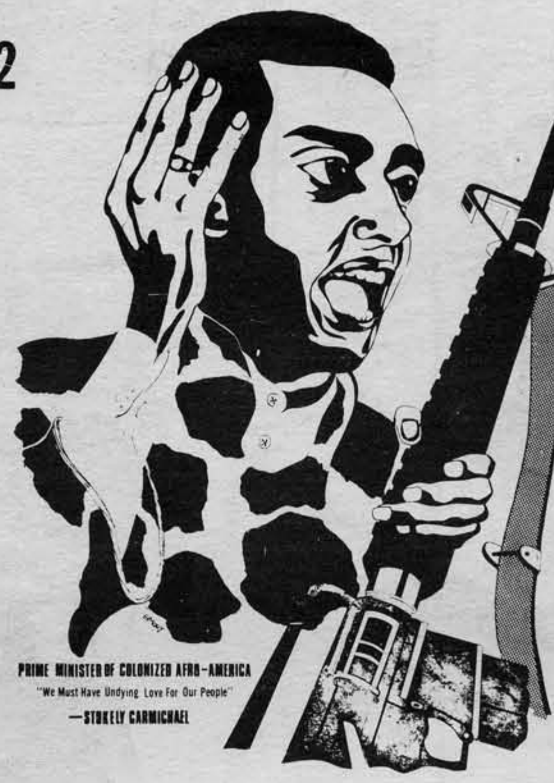
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This space has previously been used for "Free Huey" posters. But now that the world is awaiting the verdict-Free Huey-or the sky is the limit!

2



PRIME MINISTER OF COLONIZED AFRO-AMERICA STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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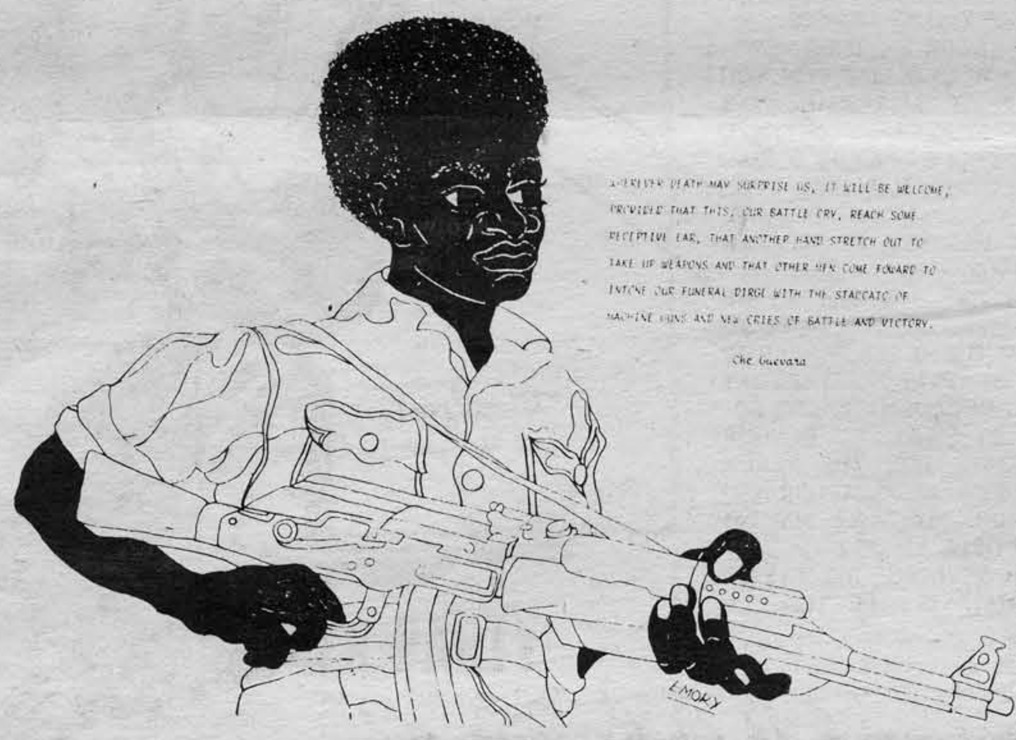
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BLACK STUDIES

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REVOLUTIONARY

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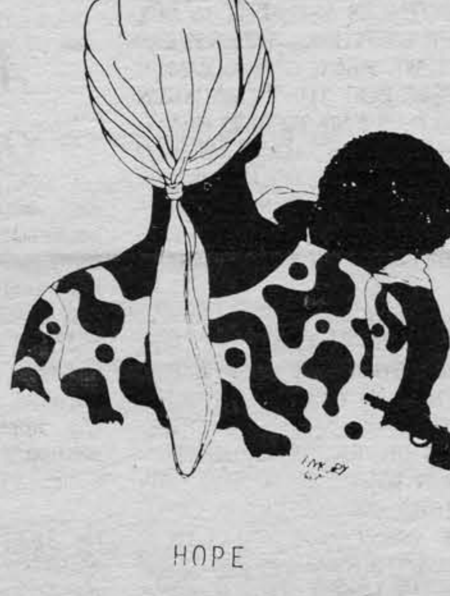
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